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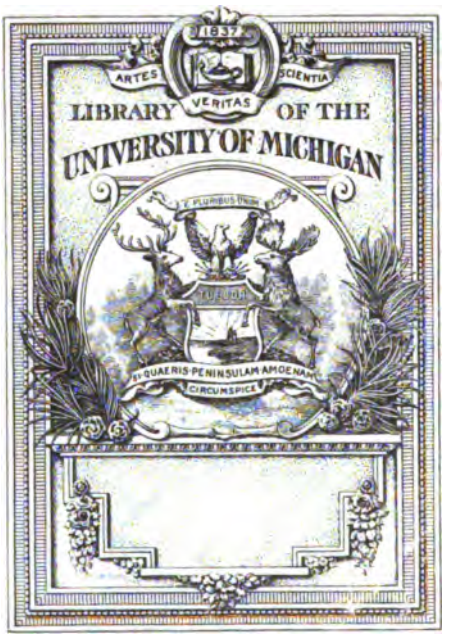
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WILLIAM PEPPER, M.D., LL.D.

William Pepper

ÆT. 44

WILLIAM PEPPER
M.D., LL.D.

123626

(1843—1898)

PROVOST OF THE UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA

BY

FRANCIS NEWTON THORPE

PHILADELPHIA & LONDON
J. B. LIPPINCOTT COMPANY
1904

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IN MEMORY

OF

WILLIAM PEPPER

DOCTOR OF MEDICINE

DOCTOR OF LAWS

WHOSE SERVICES TO HIS NATIVE CITY

IN ART, SCIENCE, AND INDUSTRY

PROMOTE THE WELFARE

OF ITS PEOPLE

AND

WILL ENDEAR HIS NAME

TO POSTERITY

What other things I hitherto have done
Have fallen from me, are no longer mine;
I have passed on beyond them, and have left them
As milestones on the way. What lies before me,
That is still mine, and while it is unfinished
No one shall draw me from it, or persuade me
By promises of ease, or wealth, or honor,
Till I behold the finished dome uprise
Complete, as now I see it in my thought.

LONGFELLOW'S "Michael Angelo."

PREFACE

A FEW months after Dr. Pepper's death, his family placed his private papers in my hands with the request that, if possible, I prepare from them a sketch of his life. From these papers, from information made accessible by his family, from his friends, from files of Philadelphia newspapers, and from other sources, chiefly my own knowledge, I have obtained the material utilized in the volume now offered to the public.

I first met Dr. Pepper in September, 1885, when I entered the University of Pennsylvania as Fellow in History. My efforts to increase the facilities for studying American history at the University brought me in somewhat intimate relations with him and began an acquaintance which ripened and strengthened till his death. I saw much and knew much of the man during the thirteen years I was associated with the University as Fellow and as Professor of American Constitutional History.

In the May before his death I had occasion to examine a mass of telegrams, letters, papers, and manuscripts which had collected in my library during these thirteen years, and I discovered more than four hundred letters, notes, and telegrams which he had sent me. I destroyed all save one or two letters, with no thought that I should have use for them.

On February 18, 1898, from Palm Beach, Florida, whither he had gone to recuperate (see p. 506), he wrote me: "Thanks for your kind note. I shall be back early in March, I trust

in fine condition: will try to set the clock back a bit so as to catch up." After his return home I had several notes from him and met him a few times, the last on May 26.

Early in May, 1898, a New York publishing house suggested that some papers of mine, most of which had appeared in magazines, be brought out in book form. At first I was pleased with the idea, and wrote the following letter, which I found preserved among Dr. Pepper's papers:

"UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA,
"THE COLLEGE, May 13, 1898.

"DEAR DR. PEPPER:

"Your most considerate letter is received. Let me thank you for its friendly interest. It is my purpose to include as a dedication in my next volume, entitled 'A Century of American Politics,' the enclosed lines,—modified as may seem expedient to you and

"Yours sincerely,
"FRANCIS N. THORPE."

Proposed dedication:

TO
WILLIAM PEPPER
DOCTOR OF MEDICINE DOCTOR OF LAWS
WHOSE SERVICES
TO HIS NATIVE CITY
IN ART SCIENCE AND INDUSTRY
PROMOTE THE WELFARE
OF ITS PEOPLE
AND WILL ENDEAR HIS NAME
TO POSTERITY
THIS VOLUME IS DEDICATED

I decided, finally, not to collect the essays, but the dedication, slightly changed, I have inserted in this volume.

Could I have foreseen the destined use of the lines, doubtless I would not have been able to make them more appropriate.

Had it not been for my personal knowledge of Dr. Pepper I could not have undertaken this sketch of his life. The last time I met him, at his home, he told me of his approaching departure for California. He looked old and weary, was much cast down, and spoke doubtfully of the future. "I am a worn-out old man; I am through," he said, as he bade me farewell.

Had I not possessed some share of his confidence and for many years enjoyed friendly relations with him I could not have made an interpretation of the fragmentary mass of his private papers, or of that notable supplement—for biographical purposes—the record of the times in which he lived, preserved in the press-files of his native city. This record extends through nearly forty years, during the last twenty-five of which he was identified with nearly every beneficent public movement of magnitude in Philadelphia.

But I should omit a primary and most helpful source of information were I to neglect to express my sense of obligation to his friends, too numerous to name individually, with whom reposed some tender memory of the man, and who, in one way or another, have given me aid and counsel.

To Dr. Pepper's brother-in-law, the late James Biddle Leonard, Esq., I was most deeply indebted for assistance. He knew Dr. Pepper intimately from early childhood, and the relations between them throughout life were most tender and confidential. I was enabled to enjoy Mr. Leonard's counsel, which was of the kind, in a work of this nature, surpassing all others in value. It is a consolation to me that the first draft of this sketch reached Mr. Leonard and was

read by him before his sudden and lamented death in London.

I have been assisted, throughout the preparation of the volume, by the sympathy and invaluable counsel of Dr. Horace Howard Furness, a life-long friend of Dr. Pepper, and as a Trustee of the University of Pennsylvania familiar with his aspirations and work in education; by Mrs. Cornelius Stevenson, Sc.D., Secretary of the Archæological Museums, and for many years a collaborateur with him in educational and civic work; by Horace Jayne, M.D., Dean of the College during the greater part of Dr. Pepper's Provostship; by the Honorable George F. Edmunds; by Mr. William Platt Pepper; and by Mr. George Wharton Pepper. Several of these friends read the volume in manuscript, and Mr. George Wharton Pepper was kind enough to read it in the proof-sheets.

I am also indebted for aid and counsel to General Isaac J. Wistar, to Mr. Thomas Dolan, to Alfred Stengel, M.D., to R. C. Barrington, M.D., and to Rev. Jesse Y. Burk, a classmate of Dr. Pepper, and now for many years Secretary to the Board of Trustees of the University.

To Mrs. Cornelius Stevenson, Secretary, to Dr. William Powell Wilson, Director, to Mr. Frederick B. Miles, Treasurer, and to Mr. John Thomson, Librarian, I am indebted, respectively, for data for the chapters on the Archæological Museums, the Commercial Museums, University Extension, and the Free Library of Philadelphia, with each of which institutions Dr. Pepper was intimately associated as founder, as promoter, and as president.

The Historical Society of Pennsylvania, and the College of Physicians of Philadelphia, of which Dr. Pepper was a member, have placed me under obligations by extending every facility to utilize their rich collections.

PREFACE

Dr. Pepper once said to me, about five years before his death, "You will write my life some day." We had been conversing over a new biography of Franklin, in whom he always took a profound interest. "Oh, no," I replied; "it would be impossible to write your life: no one could tell how busy a man you are."

There remain many who can say of things touched on in this book, *quorum pars fui*, and these may read their own biography between the lines. Conscious of my limitations as a biographer, I have desired only to make this volume a fair memorial of a remarkable man, and I commit the book to the forbearing judgment of those best able to measure the difficulties of the task entrusted to me.

FRANCIS NEWTON THORPE.

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Part I

THE PHYSICIAN AND MEDICAL WRITER

WILLIAM PEPPER

I

YOUTH

1843–1865

WILLIAM PEPPER, the son of William Pepper and Sarah Platt, was born at 1215 Walnut Street, Philadelphia, on August 21, 1843. His father, known in the annals of medicine as the elder Pepper, was also born in Philadelphia, and, after being graduated with highest honors at Princeton in 1829, began the study of medicine under Dr. Thomas T. Hewson, in the Medical Department of the University of Pennsylvania, from which he was graduated in 1832—the year when the Asiatic cholera appeared in Philadelphia. Dr. Pepper had made his arrangements to pursue further medical studies in Paris, but delayed his departure, freely gave his services in the cholera hospital, and remained on duty in his native city until the plague was stayed. In Paris he was a fellow-student with Oliver Wendell Holmes, who, writing half a century later of his early associates and medical studies there, spoke of Pepper as "a strong man."[1] For an American to pursue a graduate course in medicine at a European university was as rare in the thirties as the subsequent careers of Pepper and Holmes were notable.

[1] Dr. Holmes to Coleman Sellers; mentioned in Mr. Sellers's letter to Dr. Pepper, July 7, 1887.

In 1834 Dr. Pepper returned to Philadelphia, where he soon became recognized as the chief consultant. He was elected physician to the Philadelphia Dispensary, to Wills Hospital, to the Pennsylvania Institution for the Instruction of the Blind, and to the Pennsylvania Hospital, with which latter institution he was identified twenty-six years. In 1860 he was chosen Professor of the Theory and Practice of Medicine in the University of Pennsylvania, which chair he filled until failing health, in 1864, compelled him to resign it. His clinical lectures were famed for clearness, conciseness, and utility—qualities which also distinguished the discharge of his professional duties, which early in his career became so heavy as to undermine his strength. On account of his increasing practice he was not a prolific medical writer, but his contributions to medical journals were clear in style, practical in character, and highly valued by his profession. He was a member of the College of Physicians and Surgeons, of the American Philosophical Society, and of many medical societies. His early death, on October 15, 1864, was widely deplored. A passage in the memoir of him prepared at the request of the College of Physicians and Surgeons reads like a prophecy of his greatly distinguished son:

"At the early age of fifty-five, he died, just in the maturity of his mental ability and of his capacity for usefulness; at the period when the arduous labors of a lifetime would have shown their best results; when the richest fruits of larger study and ripe experience were about to be gathered, giving still higher honor to him and greater benefits to the community."[1]

[1] Thomas S. Kirkbride, M.D., Biographical Memoir of William Pepper, M.D., prepared at the request of the College of Physicians of Philadelphia, 1866.

GEORGE PEPPER (1779–1846) ÆT. 62

Of the founder of the Pepper family in America, Henry Pepper,[1] little is known other than that he was born near Strasburg, Germany, January 5, 1739, and, with his wife Catharine, sailed from Rotterdam for Philadelphia in the ship *Minerva*, October 13, 1769; that he settled in Shafferstown, now in Lebanon County, Pennsylvania; that in 1774 he removed to Philadelphia, and died in that city March 11, 1808. The descendants of Henry and Catharine Pepper, in the female lines, have borne twenty surnames: Cochran, Scott, Gerhard, Watts, Harris, Leonard, Wright, Gardette, Maury, Gibson, Ibbetson, Thomson, Miller, Van Reed, Biddle, Ricketts, Rawle, Gwinn, Vaux, and Morris. His second son, George, father of the elder Pepper, was born in Philadelphia, March 15, 1779. The Pepper family, in the eighteenth century and during the first half of the nineteenth, were communicants with the Lutheran Church of Zion and St. Michael. Few church edifices in the early history of America had a more interesting history than St. Michael's. It stood at the southeast corner of Fourth and Cherry Streets, and for many years was famed for being the largest church building in America. On account of its size Dr. Franklin's funeral services were held in it, as were also the memorial services for Washington, Philadelphia at the time of his death being the national capital. The early identification of William Pepper's ancestors with this church, and its association with the name of Franklin, possess more than a passing interest because of the marriage of William Pepper with a descendant of Dr. Franklin.

George Pepper, William's grandfather, was entered in the counting-house of Willing & Francis, eminent merchants

[1] Heinrich Pfeffer.

of Philadelphia, where he acquired the sound business habits which distinguished him through life. No other citizen of Philadelphia in his time, with the exception of Stephen Girard, equalled George Pepper in business sagacity. Long before he reached middle life he was one of the wealthiest men of the city. At his death, in 1846,[1] he created a trust estate under the advice of Horace Binney, and the great Philadelphia lawyer received ten thousand dollars for drawing his will: probably the largest fee ever paid him for such a service. A portrait of the grandfather, at the age of twenty-two, by St. Memin, strikingly resembles one of the familiar portraits of Robert Burns. The large estate which George Pepper left has been a source of many benefactions to the city of Philadelphia. Several million dollars derived from it have been devoted, by gift and bequest, to public uses, of which the best known are the city hospitals, the free public library, and the University of Pennsylvania. No other estate accumulated in Philadelphia during the first half of the nineteenth century, excepting that of Stephen Girard, has contributed so generously to science and education.[2]

William Pepper's mother, Sarah Platt, was descended from

[1] January 6, 1846; see *North American*, January 8, 1846. He was married May 13, 1802, by the Rev. Henry Helmuth, rector of Zion and St. Michael, to Mary Catherine Seckel (June 7, 1780—June 21, 1861), daughter of John David Seckel (January 29, 1749—November 16, 1815), and Mary M. (maiden name unknown, November 28, 1760—November 30, 1809), of Philadelphia.

[2] These benefactions were made by George Pepper, son of the above (June 11, 1808–May 2, 1890), whose portrait hangs in the Rittenhouse Club, and by William Pepper, the subject of this biography.

GEORGE PEPPER (1779–1846) ÆT. 22

From the portrait by St. Memin

an old Quaker family of New Jersey. The father's delicate health and exacting and extensive practice relegated the training of the children almost wholly to the mother's hand, and never was a mother better qualified for the task. The personal charm which distinguished her children reflected her own. She survived her husband many years and lived to witness the vast labor which her son accomplished and the high honors which he won.[1]

[1] Of William Pepper's ancestry on the maternal side it is known that Thomas Platt was living in Burlington County, New Jersey, from 1712 to 1722, and that several of his children were baptized in St. Mary's Protestant Episcopal Church at Burlington. It has been thought that he was descended from Richard Platt, who settled in Connecticut in 1638. On November 1, 1739, Thomas Platt married Sarah Dennis, in Monmouth County, New Jersey. He died in 1768, at the age of fifty-three. His wife survived him thirty-six years. Their son John was born in New Hanover township, Burlington County, near the hamlet of Plattsburg. In 1777 he received a commission in the Delaware regiment of foot in the Continental establishment under Colonel Hall, and served throughout the Revolutionary War. He was one of the original members of the Delaware branch of the Society of the Cincinnati. He was married at the Upper Springfield meeting-house in Burlington County to Alice Stevenson, daughter of William Stevenson, of Upper Freehold Township, Monmouth County. He died on his estate, Chatham, near Wilmington, Delaware, September 23, 1784. She died July 4, 1806. As she was a Friend and a member of the Wilmington meeting, and as her death appears upon their records, it is supposed that she was buried in their burial ground at Wilmington. Their son, William Platt, born in 1790, married Maria Taylor March 27, 1816. Their second daughter and third child, Sarah Platt, married William Pepper June 9, 1840. She died March 22, 1895.

In a sketch written in his twenty-fifth year William Pepper gives some account of his childhood and early youth:[1]

"I do not think I was at all a precocious child. I remember first going to school when nearly seven years old, ignorant of the very letters of the alphabet. Before this time, however, I had amused myself much with the elementary operations of arithmetic, especially performed in a mental way, and throughout life I have retained the same taste for numerical relations. My childhood was a most happy one; blest with a most kind and loving, though judicious father, who, even when overwhelmed by the anxious cares of his profession, had always a fond sympathy with our childish pleasures; with a mother whose very presence and still more tender smile and sweet, soft voice were the fruits and proofs of most entire and constant unselfishness; yet not weak or undignified; most tender, yet not foolishly indulgent mother love I have ever seen. A brother whose friendship and love have been a life-long joy and stay;[2] sisters whose sympathy and affections made home always a welcome place to me.

"The winter months we passed in the city, but when early summer came our father, with self-denying wisdom, would secure some healthful quiet country retreat where the burning dog-days were passed, while he stayed in the city at his post, daily battling with disease.[3] When about ten years old I went to Mr. Keith's school and remained there, studying spasmodically and rather languidly, for four years. Mr. Keith, who was without a profound

[1] December 1, 1867. Pepper MSS.

[2] This was his brother George Pepper, born April 1, 1841; died September 14, 1872.

[3] The elder Pepper's father, during the summer months, lived at his country seat, Fairy Hill, a place of great beauty, on the eastern bank of the Schuylkill. The site is now occupied by Laurel Hill Cemetery. Fairy Hill was given up by the elder Pepper because he considered it unhealthful.

knowledge of the classics, or, I fear, a very comprehensive idea of the object to be secured by their study, most religiously drilled us in the rudiments of Latin and Greek, year after year, to the almost entire exclusion of History, Geography, and English, and entirely ignored the claims of Natural Philosophy. His discipline was not at all strict.

"I left with an ill-disciplined, ill-stored mind; with a certain fluency in expression and composition; a thorough knowledge of Latin and Greek grammar; a fair mastery of Cæsar,—*Viri Romae*,—some simple Greek readers, and the first three books of Homer. The next year I was sent to Dr. Faires's school, not so much with the view of preparing for college as of awaiting my fifteenth birthday. This year, therefore, was almost wasted. I was impatient at the delay and received no encouragement to undertake any studies additional to the school tasks with which I was partly familiar. Soon after my fifteenth birthday, in September, 1858, I entered the Freshman class at the University of Pennsylvania. The course of study then consisted of the Classics, under Allen and Jackson; Mathematics, under Kendall; Logic, Rhetoric, and English Literature, under Coppée; Moral Philosophy and Political Economy, under Goodwin; Chemistry, Astronomy, and Natural Science, under Frazer. At this time the discipline was lax, the prevailing habits of study very poor, and the students so young that most of them were incapable of appreciating the inestimable advantage they were daily neglecting. Once or twice during the course I secured the first honor, but finally graduated second in the class of about twenty-five and delivered a verbose valedictory to a large audience."

William Pepper was a bright, merry, healthy child of a lovable disposition and docile. He was well developed and rather large for his years. His head was large and well set; the neck extended as if in eagerness, and the head carried forward, a distinguishing feature in earlier as well as in later

years. His features were strongly marked as early as his fourth year, and a picture of him at this time proves that in facial appearance sometimes "the child is father of the man." The calm influence which his mother threw around him, her noble character and the lofty ideals which she held up to him, were the restraining influences of his early life. He was not an emotional child, a fact, perhaps, explicable from his inheritance of Teutonic calm on the paternal side, and of Quaker self-control on the maternal. His qualities were a combination of unusual mental vigor and self-command. He grew up a big-limbed boy of vigorous physique, not an athlete, but fond of out-door life, notably of cricket.

The September day[1] when the class of 1862 matriculated at the University of Pennsylvania was destined to be a memorable one in the annals of that institution. That class was to contribute in gifts and services to the institution vastly more than any other. Two of its members were to become Provosts; several to serve as Trustees; three as professors and one as the Secretary of the Board of Trustees for more than twenty years.[2] The gifts of money alone to the University from members of this class have aggregated several million dollars, and their donations to the libraries and museums, and the various departments of the institution, have been numerous, varied, and eminently useful.

The University in 1858 occupied ground on the west side of Ninth Street, comprising the greater portion of the site now covered by the United States post-office. There were two severely plain rectangular buildings of three stories each, with rough-cast walls; the northern, the College building;

[1] September 8, 1858.

[2] Rev. Jesse Y. Burk.

the southern, the Medical Hall, with a wide intervening campus.[1] The University consisted of a Department of Arts, a flourishing Medical School, and a recently revived but meagrely attended Law Department. The Law School was founded in 1789, the University being the first among surviving American universities to give regular instruction in law. Its first professor was the Honorable James Wilson, whom Washington appointed an Associate Justice of the Supreme Court (1789–1798). The departments were under one Board of Trustees, but otherwise stood in no academic relation. The Provost conferred all degrees, which was about the only university function he performed. The Freshman class in 1858 numbered thirty-two.

There were six professors in the Department of Arts, in which one hundred and twenty-five students were enrolled; ten professors and four hundred and nine students in the Medical School; three professors and seventy-five students in the Law School, and four professors and thirteen students in the Department of Mines, Arts, and Manufactures. In the Charity Schools were one hundred and fifty-four students and four teachers, two of whom were women.[2] There was also an academical department, consisting of a principal and thirty-six students, under the control of the Board of Trustees,

---

[1] The University stood on this site from 1829 to 1874. A picture of the College building may be found in an article on the University of Pennsylvania in Harper's Magazine for July, 1894.

[2] The Charity Schools were located on Fourth Street, below Mulberry. The older of the buildings was originally constructed in 1742–1743, to accommodate the great preacher and evangelist, George Whitefield. For a picture of these schools see the article above referred to.

but it did not prepare especially for the University. Indeed, few of its students ever entered college.

William Pepper's first class hour, so it happened, was with the Professor of Greek, the learned George Allen, whose earnest words of advice to the boys that morning were long remembered. Speaking of the daily chapel hour, he told the class that the University had no desire to control the religious sentiments of its students, but that it insisted upon their being gentlemen. As from its foundation it had observed brief daily religious services, in which some, at least, were interested, it would exact from all students the courtesy due the occasion. He impressed upon them that each professor's lecture-room had the sanctity of a drawing-room at home, and that nothing could be tolerated in the one which would be improper in the other.

The address made a strong impression on the boys, chiefly because of Professor Allen's manner and the atmosphere of character which surrounded him. That speeches of this kind to freshmen are seldom heard in our day is due not so much to their inappropriateness, for freshmen are freshmen still, but because the boys in the entering classes are now, on an average, four years older than in Pepper's time, and the introduction and encouragement of college athletics have quite removed the cause of that disorder in class-rooms and buildings and on the campus which for untold years disgraced college life. The professors in the Department of Arts at this time were Vethake, Frazer, Allen, Coppée, Kendall, and Jackson. There were professors only in the regular course, but several private teachers, who were endorsed by the University, gave special instruction in the modern languages at a separate charge. The regular annual fee for the college course, which was divided into two academic terms, was sixty dollars.

The institution which Pepper entered in 1858 differed greatly from that which he raised and expanded into a real university during the last fifteen years of his life. The catalogue, a pamphlet of some forty-four pages, shows that the school was not above the rank of many high schools and seminaries of our time. During his Freshman year he studied Xenophon (Hellenics); Greek Epigrams; Herodotus; Arnold's Greek Prose; Selections from Livy, from Horace (Satires and Epistles), and from Cicero (the Epistles); Rhetoric; Weber's Outlines of History; Algebra; Geometry (Legendre), and Composition and Declamation. The library, according to the catalogue, was "open daily not less than two hours," and was in charge of the Professor of Belles-Lettres and English Language, the distinguished Henry Coppée. At the end of the year Pepper stood second in his class.

The total enrolment in the University in 1858 was seven hundred and seventy-six, which increased to eight hundred and eighty-nine in the following year. The Sophomore class numbered thirty-four. Its course of study was Thucydides (Sicilian Expedition); Euripides (Medea); Demosthenes (Philippics); Selections from Tacitus; the De Senectute or De Officiis of Cicero; Selections from the Odes of Horace; Arnold's Latin Prose; Coppée's Rhetoric and Logic; Plane and Spherical Geometry (Legendre), with applications to surveying, navigation, and lectures on the Elements of Mechanics and Chemistry. Pepper attained the first rank in the class.

During his Junior year the University enrolled eight hundred and twenty-six students, of whom thirty were in his class. John Welsh, a man greatly distinguished in the history of Philadelphia, became one of the Trustees about this time. Daniel R. Goodwin, D.D., was chosen Provost, and

Dr. William Pepper was elected Professor of the Theory and Practice of Medicine. The Juniors studied Intellectual Philosophy (Hamilton's Reid), with Professor Vethake; Natural Theology and Moral Philosophy (Whewell), with the Provost; the general doctrine of Equilibrium and Matter, of Solids and Liquids, Machinery, Heat, Steam Engine, Sound, and Chemistry (experimental lectures), with Professors Kendall and Rogers; Euripides (Medea), Demosthenes (Philippics), and Theocritus, with Professor Allen; Juvenal (Selections), Cicero (De Finibus or Tusculan Disputations), Plautus, or Terence, with Professor Jackson; Analytical Geometry, Conic Sections, Differential Calculus, and Analytical Mechanics, with Professors Church and Kendall. They heard lectures on Modern History, wrote compositions, and spoke declamations. At the end of the year Pepper had the distinction of standing highest in his class.

The session of 1861 opened amidst the disturbing events of the Civil War. Many of Pepper's associates in the Junior class entered the army, some that of the United States, others that of the Confederacy. The Senior class numbered only twenty-five. It continued the study of Moral Philosophy and took up Butler's Analogy, Bowen's Political Economy; read some of the Dialogues of Plato, Œdipus Tyrannus, the Art of Poetry, and began the Integral Calculus. There were lectures on Astronomy, Light, Electricity and Magnetism, Physical Geography, English Literature, International Law, General History, and the Constitution of the United States. Some of the class, and he among them, began French, a language which in later life he spoke fluently and habitually with his children. All students were required to write "original pieces" and to deliver declamations. On Commencement Day, in July, 1862, William Pepper

WILLIAM PEPPER ÆT. 4

stood second in rank in his class and was graduated with distinction.

One of his classmates[1] recalls a conversation with him on the College campus about this time. They were talking of the University, its limitations and its possibilities, when Pepper remarked, "This can never be a real university until it has a Chancellor as its actual head," an observation of more than passing interest in the light of its prophetic character. The institution never assumed the proportions of a University until William Pepper became its head, stipulating as one of the conditions of his accepting the Provostship that the statutes should be so changed as to make the Provost a member, and *ex-officio* President, of each Faculty. The fellow-student to whom he spoke became his official assistant in the administration which so fully developed the University idea.

Pepper's valedictory and two other orations, one delivered while a Junior, the other while a Senior, are preserved. The first, on "The Choice of a Profession," is written with greater precision and care than is customary among Juniors. Professor Coppée's corrections are few and for the most part verbal. The Senior oration on "Symbolism" abounds in poetic quotations and figures of speech. It is somewhat fastidiously written, and its sheets are fastened together with a faded blue silk ribbon. Both in thought and style it shows advance over the earlier attempt. But neither of these boyish efforts gives any hint of the man other than by accuracy of detail, neatness of script, and an orderly arrangement of paragraphs.

The "verbose" valedictory, spoken on July 3, 1862, was the traditional polite farewell to the audience, to the Trustees

[1] Rev. Jesse Y. Burk, Secretary of the Board of Trustees, 1888–.

of the College, and to the graduating class, a piece of work which Pepper could do very well. At the age when most boys are awkward and easily embarrassed, he had elegant manners and almost complete self-control. Those who remember the occasion recall the grace with which he delivered the valedictory, and its happy effect. It was full of those airy nothings of which valedictories are composed and neatly met the requirements of the hour. The Senior oration, on "Symbolism," was delivered on the occasion of the annual Senior declamations, in the College Hall, December 23, 1861, and the occasion was memorable as the last of its kind. The custom had been observed for many years, but at last, having become an opportunity for much disorder among the students, the Faculty decided to discontinue it. It is presumable that Pepper's orations in matter and style were not above the average prepared by others in the class. They are of the kind that are heard at high-school exhibitions.

On the third floor of the College building rooms were assigned to the two literary societies—the Philomathean, instituted in 1813, and the Zelosophic, organized in 1829. Each had an ample meeting-room and adjacent quarters for its library. Because of the strong rivalry between the societies, the College authorities required them to hold their meetings on different nights, in order to lessen the probability of collisions. Pepper was a member of the Philomathean,[1] and, though not especially active in its affairs, bore his full share of its literary assignments and was for a time its moderator. In its exercises he exhibited many of the qualities as speaker and debater which were conspicuous in his later life. He was

[1] For a brief history of this society see Benjamin Franklin and the University of Pennsylvania, Chapter XII.

cool, collected, and courteous; his voice was musical and his manner pleasing. One act of disorder is remembered. He was *particeps criminis* in a destructive raid upon the Zelosophic rooms on a riotous night in 1859, whereof record can be found in the books of either society. But the records ought also to show that he was one of those who promptly voted an ample apology to Zelo, and helped to make full payment of its bill of damages when the excitement was over.

He entered the Medical Department in 1862, at which time it had three hundred and nineteen of the six hundred and forty-two students in the University, and had seven of its twenty-eight Professors. Among these were his father, who held the chair of Theory and Practice and of Clinical Medicine, and Joseph Leidy, Professor of Anatomy. The attendance had greatly fallen off on account of the war, for upward of two hundred and fifty boys, who otherwise would have been in the University, were with the armies in the field. He heard lectures on the Institutes of Medicine, from Samuel Jackson; on Obstetrics and the Diseases of Women and Children, from Hugh L. Hodge; on Materia Medica and Pharmacy, from Joseph Carson; on Chemistry, from Robert E. Rogers; on Surgery, from Henry H. Smith; on Theory and Practice, from his father; and on Anatomy, from Leidy. In his second year (1863–1864) the University attendance had increased forty, and the Medical Department alone then represented twenty-eight States and countries. Francis G. Smith lectured on the Institutes of Medicine, R. A. F. Penrose on Obstetrics, and D. Hayes Agnew was Demonstrator of Anatomy.

The attendance continued to increase during Pepper's Senior year, and aggregated four hundred and twenty-five students in the Department of Medicine. Professor Pepper's

failing health forbade his giving lectures. Alfred Stillé was appointed temporarily in his place, and soon after Professor Pepper's death was elected to fill his chair. The choice was in every way a happy one for William Pepper. No firmer friend could have succeeded to the chair, and the friendship continued through life. On March 12, 1864, it being the one hundred and fifteenth session of the Medical School, William Pepper was graduated Doctor of Medicine.[1]

His first care was for his father, who was now rapidly failing. All through the summer the young physician was with his parent, who died in his arms, October 15, 1864.

With the son's entrance upon the practice of medicine closed an important chapter of his life—the period of preparation. By inheritance he came to notable opportunities, and he neglected none of them. He was more of a student during his medical course than he had been in college. As he grew older he awakened to some recognition of his powers, and undoubtedly his father's death, entailing upon him, as it did, new responsibilities, awoke his ambition. The modest college course which he had pursued, modest as compared with the multifarious offerings in university courses at the present time, contained the essentials of sound learning. It comprised the foundation which still lies at the base of higher education. At the age of twenty-one William Pepper faced the world with no extraordinary technical equipment. It was the man himself that was to determine his future. Broad and notable as it was destined to be, there was little, outside of the qualities of the man, which hinted at the future. What these qualities were, how they were to strengthen and develop, and to what consequences they led, form the sub-

[1] His thesis was entitled "Movement of the Iris." Pepper MSS.

WILLIAM PEPPER (THE ELDER) 1808–1864

ject of the story of his life. It became so varied, so intense, so cosmopolitan, so beneficent to the community in which he was born, that it can best be told by narrating, first, his career as a professional man; secondly, as an educator, and, thirdly, as the citizen actively engaged in promoting the public welfare.

In narrating this career, much will be said of honors and of offices, but the chief theme is of services rendered. Seldom is it vouchsafed to any man to accomplish so much as William Pepper accomplished; and he died yet young in years. He was the contemporary of many distinguished physicians, surgeons, and men of science in his native city, and with these a notable company of men of affairs. Yet among them all he moved to a unique fame. In any country, in any age the civilization of which made a great career possible, he would have done incomparable service and would have won renown. His activity leaped the confines of his chosen profession, yet he was *facile princeps* in his profession. His love of exalted service had a touch of the sublime. "Here stars, here woods, here hills, here animals, here men abound, and the vast tendencies concur of a new order. If only the men are employed in conspiring with the designs of the Spirit who led us hither, and is leading us still, we shall quickly enough advance out of all hearing of others' censures, out of all regrets of our own, into a new and more excellent social state than history has recorded."

II

THE HOSPITAL

1863–1874

IN March, 1863, nearly a year before William Pepper was graduated in medicine, he received a letter from his friend Dr. Edward Rhoads, of the class of '62, informing him of a vacancy soon to occur in the office of apothecary to the Pennsylvania Hospital, and that he had mentioned him as a substitute during the vacation of the intendant, Dr. John Conrad. Rhoads had filled the post during the summer of 1862, and had found its duties pleasant and valuable. "After examining the salient points of Parrish's Practical Pharmacy and manipulating in the laboratory twice a week for two or three months last spring," wrote Rhoads, "I found no difficulty in discharging the duties required, and you would find less than myself."[1] This appears to be the first "call" which William Pepper received. He responded to it with alacrity, and served in the temporary appointment with such success that in the following year, soon after his graduation, he was chosen one of the physicians to the Dispensary.[2]

This was the beginning of a long list of official appointments which he received during his distinguished career as a physician. It was followed by his election as resident

[1] Edward Rhoads to William Pepper, Jr., March 16, 1863.

[2] Caspar Wistar to William Pepper, May 15, 1864.

physician to the Pennsylvania Hospital,[1] the duties of which office he performed so acceptably that at the expiration of his term the managers formally extended to him "the practice of the House and the use of the Library."[2]

The Faculty of the Department of Arts in the University appointed him to deliver the master's oration at Commencement in 1865, and conveyed the announcement, through its Secretary, the eminent Professor Allen.[3] The invitation greatly pleased Dr. Pepper, as may be gathered from a marginal note in his own hand on Professor Allen's letter: "I had typhus at this time, and could not give it; it was a great disappointment, for I felt it a fine chance." This is a little glimpse into the character of the man. In March, 1866, the managers of the Pennsylvania Hospital appointed him pathologist, and in January following assigned him a room in the Picture House, on Spruce Street, in which to deliver a course of lectures on pathological anatomy.

In the same year he was elected physician to the Lincoln Institution.[4] About the same time the Board of Guardians of the Poor elected him visiting physician to the Philadelphia Hospital (Blockley),[5] an appointment which called forth a letter of congratulation from one of the most eminent physicians in the city.[6] Later he was elected curator of the Philadelphia Hospital in place of Dr. D. Hayes Agnew, resigned.[7]

[1] Wistar Morris, Secretary Pennsylvania Hospital, to Dr. William Pepper, Jr., March 27, 1865.

[2] Wistar Morris, Secretary, to Dr. Pepper, 9th month, 24, 1866.

[3] MS. letter, May 9, 1865.

[4] May 9, Idem.

[5] MS. letter from Charles T. Miller, Secretary, May 14, 1867.

[6] MS. letter from Albert H. Smith, May 14, 1867.

[7] MS. letter from C. T. Miller, Secretary, October 21, 1867.

There seems to have been a prolonged contest for the appointment, which was considered one of the most desirable of its kind in the city, as it opened up a wide field of clinical study.[1] While curator he prepared a descriptive catalogue of the pathological specimens in the museum of the Pennsylvania Hospital, a closely printed octavo of 138 pages, based on an earlier catalogue by Dr. Thomas G. Morton. In April, 1868, he was elected a fellow of the College of Physicians of Philadelphia.[2] These minor but, for a young physician, highly honorable appointments show in what esteem he was held and to what extent his abilities had won the confidence of the public.

His next appointment, when we consider its ultimate results, was more important. In June, 1868, Dr. Rogers, the Dean of the Medical Department of the University, wrote him that the Faculty, desiring to carry out their plan of a course of instruction to be given during September and October for the benefit of students of medicine who might then be in the city, had selected him as the lecturer on Morbid Anatomy at a compensation of one hundred dollars.[3] He accepted the appointment and entered on the duties of medical instructor in the University, which, as time proved, were to continue without interruption just thirty years. The subject of Morbid Anatomy attracted him, and his lectures greatly pleased the Faculty, who, at their conclusion, sent him some complimentary resolutions.[4]

[1] MS. letter of congratulation, John Ashhurst, Jr., M.D., May 14, 1867.

[2] MS. notice, John H. Packard, Secretary, College Chamber, April 1, 1868.

[3] MS. letter from Dr. R. E. Rogers, June 16, 1868.

[4] MS. letter from Dr. Rogers, February 2, 1869.

The success of the course and Dr. Pepper's zeal to be busy led him to offer another course in Pathological Anatomy, which the Faculty gladly accepted, and which he gave in the spring of 1869, but his offer was accepted on condition that he would become curator for the time being of the pathological collection made by Dr. Horner and Dr. Caspar Wistar in the latter part of the eighteenth and the early part of the nineteenth centuries. Dr. Pepper received no compensation for his services and gave up the lectures in 1870. The Wistar and Horner collection became the nucleus of the magnificent museum founded twenty-five years later by General Isaac J. Wistar, who was largely influenced in his plans by Dr. Pepper.[1] About the time he gave up the pathological lectures at the University he was appointed curator to the Philadelphia Hospital, at a salary of three hundred a year,[2] and shortly afterward was chosen one of the attending physicians of the Children's Hospital,[3] lecturer on medical subjects at the Mission House, and a life member of the Society of the Lincoln Institution.[4] One of his colleagues at the Pennsylvania Hospital, in 1866–68, remarking on Dr. Pepper's characteristics during these early years, recalls "his cheerful, hopeful disposition, his enthusiasm and his alertness," and particularly his "bounding up and down stairs, two and three steps at a time, to and from his clinics."[5]

[1] See account of the Wistar Institute, *post*.

[2] MS. letter from C. T. Miller, Secretary, November 23, 1869; appointment from January 1, 1870.

[3] MS. letter from Dr. F. W. Lewis, Secretary, March 4, 1870.

[4] January 15, 1869.

[5] Memoir of the late William Pepper, M.D., LL.D., by James Tyson. Read before the College of Physicians of Philadelphia, April 3, 1901.

He had now been six years a practising physician, and had acquired much clinical experience in his varied hospital practice. He had no predilection for surgery, and he was fully conscious of his inborn powers in diagnosis and the treatment of the sick. He was gratified, therefore, in April, 1870, to receive from the Dean of the Medical Faculty of the University notice of his appointment as lecturer on Clinical Medicine,[1] at four hundred per annum, the appointment to be from year to year at the pleasure of the Faculty. His appointment to the lectureship in Clinical Medicine called forth the following letter from his friend, the eminent Dr. Gross:

"The announcement of your election to the chair of Clinical Medicine in the University of Pennsylvania has just met my eye. Allow me to congratulate you, with all my heart and soul, upon an event in Philadelphia progress alike honorable to yourself and worthy of the great mother of American medical schools. If you were my own son I could hardly be more rejoiced than I am at the occurrence. You have before you an empire of fame, and no higher compliment was ever bestowed upon so young a physician on this continent. That you may live long to enjoy your position as a teacher in a great school, and to advance the interests of medical science and of medical education is, my dear Doctor, the sincere and ardent wish of your friend."[2]

A few months later he received from the distinguished J. P. Leslie, then Secretary of the American Philosophical Society, notice of his election as a member.[3]

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[1] MS. letter from Alfred Stillé, J. Carson, Francis G. Smith, Jr., April 19, 1870. MS. letter from R. E. Rogers, Dean, April 25, 1870.

[2] MS. letter from S. D. Gross, April 28, 1870.

[3] July 15, 1870.

In February, 1870, he became a member of the Executive Committee of the Alumni Association of the University. About this time he and his friends were discussing the founding of a new medical journal, and he was placed on the executive committee to consider the matter. In March he resigned from the Lincoln Institution and also from the Union Home, or Mission, in which he had been giving some informal medical instruction. During the summer the medical journal had been started and Dr. Rhoads had been chosen its editor, but owing to Rhoads's illness Dr. Pepper assumed its editorship in the middle of August. On the first of October he resigned the position of pathologist and curator to the Pennsylvania Hospital. On the fifteenth he was elected Vice-President of the Philadelphia Pathological Society, and three years later its President.

In January, 1871, he assisted in securing the election of his brother, Dr. George Pepper, as physician of the Philadelphia Hospital, and he was instrumental in improving the service of the hospital wardens. In February he was appointed to deliver lectures on Physical Diagnosis at the University in the place of Dr. Rhoads, who was ill; he gave them in addition to his own clinical lectures and began them on the twentieth of March. A few days before these additional lectures opened he resigned his position as editor of the *Medical Times*. He resigned as curator to Blockley on the twenty-fifth of March, and on the seventeenth of June went to Europe, returning on the sixth of September. He spent the summer in visiting the most famous hospitals and acquainting himself with their construction, organization, and management.

At the time of his appointment as clinical lecturer, the subject of removing the University to West Philadelphia was first agitated. A most serious obstacle was the inconvenience

of the prospective location, as the hospitals were all located in the eastern and older part of the city; but that the removal of the institution to more convenient quarters was imperatively necessary and could not be much longer delayed was now fully recognized. Many of the Medical Faculty were opposed to the change, but the younger members, especially those who, like Dr. Pepper, were delivering their maiden lectures in the institution, were anxious to effect the removal. The old quarters were antiquated; new ones could be made modern in every respect. A serious, perhaps the most serious, difficulty in the way could be overcome by the erection of a University Hospital on the new site. At this time no great hospital in America was so affiliated with a medical school as to be identified with the school. A hospital was a municipal, a county, or a private institution, its privileges open freely to its own officials, but not exclusively to the students of a particular medical school, such, for instance, as the University of Pennsylvania. It was a departure from precedent for any one to advocate the founding of a great hospital primarily for the benefit of the public, and, also, of the medical students attending a university.

A hint of impending reforms and of many innovations was given by Dr. Pepper, now in his twenty-seventh year, in his address to the Alumni of the University at their annual dinner, December 30, 1870, in response to the toast, "The Medical Department." He mentioned, with regret, that the different branches of the University were still subjected to very different influences and dependent upon very different sources of support. The students in the Department of Arts were drawn chiefly from Philadelphia; those of the Medical Department came from many States and countries. He earnestly advocated the co-operation of all the Alumni of

the institution. He regretted that American medical schools did not provide the opportunities for scientific education to be found in the medical schools of Europe. The most serious defect in our schools was the lack of thorough clinical instruction in the numerous special branches into which the art of medicine had already been separated. The Faculty of the University of Pennsylvania, clearly recognizing the great want, made the more serious by the absence of any hospital in immediate connection with the school, had organized during 1869–70 what might be claimed as "the best and most complete system of dispensary clinical teaching in connection with any medical school." It was evident, he said, that as soon as the college was removed from its old site at Ninth and Chestnut Streets there would arise a question of the gravest importance as to the future of the Medical Department; and this he said referring to the need of a hospital.

It is difficult to say who first proposed this hospital. At the medical commencement in 1871, among the physicians present were Dr. William F. Norris, of the Class of '61, Dr. Horatio C. Wood, of the Class of '62, and Dr. Pepper. The programme of the day gives no hint that the erection of a hospital was under discussion at the time; but it is known that on this occasion the subject was thoughtfully considered and that the idea of establishing the University Hospital was born. By March 15 a special committee was at work. On June 12 a meeting of this committee of collection, with the Honorable Morton McMichael as chairman, was held in the Academic Department of the University.[1] Mr. McMichael was, at the time, the owner and editor of

[1] Printed memorandum.

the *North American*, the oldest daily newspaper in the country, and was a recognized power in public affairs. His influence for the new movement was accounted as an assurance of its success. The committee decided that the erection of a hospital should be urged upon the Medical Faculty and the Board of Trustees. The Faculty quickly responded to the wishes of the Alumni and appointed a committee from its own number to co-operate. A joint meeting was held at which it was decided to interest the influential citizens of Philadelphia and to issue an appeal to the public for funds. The signers of this appeal selected the Hospital finance committee to carry on the work. Saunders Lewis was elected treasurer, William F. Norris, M.D., secretary, and Dr. Pepper, chairman.

Dr. Pepper, at this time twenty-seven years of age, took up the hospital enterprise with enthusiasm. First he wrote an appeal in its behalf,[1] which was signed by one hundred and nine prominent citizens of Philadelphia, among them its most eminent physicians, lawyers, and business men. The purpose of the appeal was to show the necessity of a hospital under the direction of the University as an addition to its resources. During the year 1870 more than three thousand persons had applied for relief at the University alone. All conceded that increased hospital accommodation was needed in the city. The site selected for the University Hospital, on the land recently acquired for the University in West Philadelphia, was particularly favorable from a hygienic stand-point, and possessed the advantage of being in the vicinity of the *termini* of the great railroads of the

[1] An Appeal in Behalf of a Hospital for the University of Pennsylvania; 1871, pp. 4.

State. It was estimated that between 1810 and 1870 no less than twenty million dollars had been expended in Philadelphia by the medical students of the University alone, so that the proposed undertaking was justified in a business way; by adequately equipping the University Medical School a larger number of students would be in attendance, and a greater sum of money annually be expended in the city. The Trustees had decided to devote sufficient property in West Philadelphia to the use of the building, and it was proposed to equip the hospital with two hundred and fifty beds and to maintain it in order and efficiency. To this end an endowment fund would be required of at least seven hundred thousand dollars; a less amount might be made sufficient, but a million dollars could be employed without extravagance and with inestimable benefit to the sick and wounded, not only of the community but of the great manufacturing and mining districts by which Philadelphia is surrounded. Therefore the appeal for the hospital was based on three grounds: first, the requirements of medical education; secondly, the increased need in the city of hospital accommodation, and thirdly, the material advantage which it would give to the community.

With characteristic thoroughness, Dr. Pepper collected data to show the hospital accommodation of the city as compared with that of New York, and also to show the relative need of such accommodation as evidenced by the population of the two cities and its rate of relative increase. The result of his investigation showed that Philadelphia, with a population of seven hundred thousand souls (674,022), afforded only three hundred and nine free hospital beds to which the honest poor could resort in time of sickness. It was true there were fourteen hospitals in the city offering

one thousand seven hundred and thirty-two beds, of which one thousand one hundred and ninety-nine were nominally free, but against this number he contrasted the accommodation in New York city with a population of nine hundred and twenty-six thousand (926,341), with thirty hospitals affording seven thousand nine hundred and sixty beds, of which six thousand three hundred and twenty-five were free.

The contrast was the more startling upon comparing the population of the two Commonwealths. That of Pennsylvania, by the census of 1870, was three and a half million, but excluding Philadelphia two million eight hundred thousand. The population of New York was four and one-third million, but excluding that of the City of New York three million four hundred thousand. The rate of increase was greater for Pennsylvania; indeed, between 1860 and 1870 the city of Philadelphia alone had increased nearly as much in population as the entire State of New York, and the total increase of Pennsylvania during this decade was over one hundred thousand greater than that of the City of New York.

By the most liberal interpretation of hospital rules there were no more than eleven hundred free beds in all Philadelphia hospitals at this time. This fact was the more remarkable when it was remembered that Philadelphia was the principal manufacturing centre in the Union, and at this time the capital invested in its manufactories amounted to two hundred and twenty-five millions of dollars. There had been no remarkable extension of hospital privileges in the city since 1840, yet since that time the railroad interests of the city had developed and had greatly increased the number of persons requiring hospital service. At the same time, the mining interests of the State had developed, yet

without adequate provision for accidents. While in New York city there were over six thousand free hospital beds for a population of nine hundred thousand, in Philadelphia, the principal city in the State of Pennsylvania, whose wealth was nearly four billions of dollars, there was only one free hospital bed for every seven thousand of the population.

Dr. Pepper did not stop merely with an appeal to the citizens of Philadelphia; he inaugurated a campaign to influence the Legislature of Pennsylvania. In his petition of December, 1871, to the Legislature he embodied the facts which he had collected for his general appeal. He stated the amount of the endowment fund which would be required at seven hundred thousand, but extended the service of the proposed hospital so as to cover the entire Commonwealth. At least a quarter of a million should be secured before the first portion of the hospital could be erected to be ready for the reception of patients. In the early seventies the State Legislature had not been overrun by appellants for aid to hospitals; hence they were received as novelties of their kind. The public treasury had been exploited for almost every conceivable charity—except a university hospital. Meanwhile, the appeal to Philadelphia had met with a generous response and over one hundred and forty thousand dollars had been subscribed. It was understood that the hospital would be a free State institution and would be entirely free from sectarian influences. The site prospectively chosen, on the high land on a portion of the almshouse property, was near the railroad centre of the city and the State. The institution was to be managed by business men and members of the medical profession. The legislative appeal was strengthened by the success which had attended the movement thus far, and the Assembly was

reminded of the generous treatment of hospitals by Massachusetts and New York. It was asked to appropriate one hundred thousand dollars towards the erection of the hospital.[1]

The appeal to the Legislature was followed by a campaign of education, in which the person of widest influence was Mr. John Welsh. It may be doubted whether without him the undertaking would have succeeded. Every medical alumnus of the University in the State received an earnest appeal from the Faculty to use his influence with the Senator and Representative from his district to support the appropriation. As events proved, the campaign was an easy one, for the hospital appeal was a novel method of getting an appropriation. It was almost the first of its kind in the history of the State. On April 3, 1872, the Legislature passed the annual appropriation act, one section of which appropriated the sum of one hundred thousand dollars to the University of Pennsylvania upon condition that it should raise the additional sum of two hundred and fifty thousand. The entire appropriation was to be expended in the erection of a general hospital in connection with the University, in which at least two hundred beds, free for persons injured,

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[1] The original appeal to the Legislature was signed by John Welsh, J. Edgar Thompson, George B. Wood, M.D., Thomas A. Scott, President of the Pennsylvania Railroad, Franklin B. Gowen, of the Reading Railroad, Henry C. Lea, Edward M. Paxson, Joseph Allison, Thomas K. Finletter, George Sharswood, Daniel Agnew, H. W. Williams, F. Carroll Brewster, J. N. Campbell, F. Jordon, A. L. Russell, J. I. Clark Hare, M. Russell Thayer, James Lynd, James T. Mitchell, Amos Briggs, J. G. Fell, R. E. Rogers, M.D., James Ludlow, Ulysses Mercer, and William Pepper.

should be forever maintained. No portion of the State appropriation was to be available until satisfactory evidence had been furnished to the Auditor-General and State Treasurer that the required subscription of two hundred and fifty thousand dollars had been secured by the University. In recognition of the services which the members of the Legislature had rendered in voting the appropriation, the finance committee of the fund for establishing the hospital, at the suggestion of Dr. Pepper, caused to be prepared in the form of a certificate a resolution of thanks for the assistance which the Legislature had given. A copy signed by the committee was sent to each member.

HOSPITAL OF THE UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA

PHILADELPHIA, May 1, 1872.

DEAR SIR: At a meeting of the Finance Committee of the Fund for establishing a General Hospital in connection with the University of Pennsylvania, the act of the Legislature appropriating $100,000 for the erection of this proposed hospital was read, and on motion it was unanimously resolved:

That, whereas we regard the action of the Legislature in making this appropriation as worthy alike of the dignity and wealth of the Commonwealth and of its reputation for the exercise of a wise and liberal charity in support of institutions destined for the alleviation of human suffering,

We, the undersigned, being among the very numerous citizens interested in this noble and most desirable enterprise, beg to convey to you our appreciation of your public-spirited and disinterested efforts in behalf of the above appropriation; and to express our conviction that you have thus been instrumental in securing the successful completion of an institution which will stand for centu-

ries as a monument of the broad liberality of our community, and as a sheltering haven to receive thousands of needy sufferers.

Very truly yours,

James Thompson,
John M. Read,
George Sharswood,
H. W. Williams,
Daniel Agnew,
J. M. Campbell,
F. Jordon,
Morton McMichael,
William F. Norris, M.D.,
George A. Wood,
J. Edgar Thomson,
Geo. B. Wood, M.D.,
Thomas A. Scott,
Franklin B. Gowen,
Henry C. Lea,
Theodore Cuyler,
A. L. Russell,
Joseph Allison,
Thos. K. Finletter,
Horatio C. Wood, M.D.,
F. Carroll Brewster,
R. E. Rogers, M.D.,
Henry C. Gibson,
Wm. S. Pierce,
Edward M. Paxson,
J. I. Clark Hare,
James Lynd,
M. Russell Thayer,
James T. Mitchell,
D. Hayes Agnew, M.D.,
William Pepper, M.D.

About a month before the Legislature made the appropriation the Trustees of the University designated a site for the hospital on their recently acquired property in West Philadelphia. It was to stand on the north side of Locust Street, where Houston Hall is now situated, but the Trustees agreed that if within a year they came into possession of more suitable ground it should be utilized instead.[1] The Trustees acted generously; for the campus, then only ten acres, was already too small for University purposes. Dr. Pepper determined to appeal to the City Council for a new site, and he promptly drew up a formal petition, in which he embodied

[1] MS. letter from Cadwalader Biddle, Secretary, to Dr. Pepper, March 8, 1872.

all the essential matter utilized in his earlier petitions, strengthened now by the additional facts that the State had appropriated one hundred thousand dollars for the erection of the building, and that "munificent individuals and wealthy corporations had already, in the course of a few months, given nearly one hundred and seventy-five thousand dollars additional." It was necessary, he urged, that "a hospital starting under such favorable auspices and destined to grow with the increasing requirements of the community should be located on a portion of ground sufficiently large to allow of its future extension from time to time."[1]

As it was impossible, he contended, to obtain a site for the building adequate to its needs on the property of the University in West Philadelphia, it became necessary to appeal to the municipal government for a grant of land of suitable extent. Councils were therefore petitioned to grant to the Trustees of the University the square of ground situated in West Philadelphia bounded by Spruce Street on the north, by Pine Street on the south, by Thirty-fourth Street on the east, and by Thirty-sixth Street on the west; subject to the conditions that no portion of the ground should ever be alienated from the University, and that its Trustees should agree to erect and forever to maintain on the ground a general hospital containing at least fifty free beds. This petition was signed by many influential citizens.[2]

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[1] Original appeal to the Select and Common Councils of the City of Philadelphia.

[2] Among them were George B. Wood, M.D., Eli K. Price, John Welsh, William Sellers, N. B. Browne, Morton McMichael, H. C. Wood, M.D., Theodore Cuyler, Thomas A. Scott, Saunders Lewis, William F. Norris, M.D., D. Hayes Agnew, M.D., R. E. Rogers,

It is necessary only to glance at the signatures to learn the powerful influence behind the appeal; its signers represented the controlling forces in the life of Philadelphia. Its reception in both branches of Councils was cordial and in marked contrast to that which had been given to the request of the Trustees a few years earlier for a sale of a part of the almshouse farm as a University site. An appropriation ordinance was soon reported by the finance committee, who with other members of the Councils formally inspected the University buildings erected in West Philadelphia, and examined the adjacent property with reference to the application for a site for the new hospital.[1]

Finally, after a most amicable campaign, Councils passed an ordinance, which was approved by Mayor William S. Stokley on May 18, 1872, authorizing the sale and conveyance of the land in question to the Trustees of the University for hospital purposes. The consideration was five hundred dollars in cash; the erection and completion of a hospital building within five years from the first day of July following; the perpetual maintenance in the hospital of no less "than fifty free beds for the use of the poor of the city requiring hospital treatment; and the annual report by the Trustees to Councils of the condition of the institution." The Trustees were never to alienate the land, five and a half acres in area, which was thus conveyed to them in trust.[2]

Richard Wood, George W. Biddle, William B. Mann, and William Pepper, M.D. Original appeal, MS. and circular.

[1] Invitation of John Bardsley, Chairman of the Finance Committee, Thursday, May 2, 1872. MS.

[2] For the Ordinance, see Dr. Pepper's Report as Provost, 1894, pp. 51–53.

In his petition to Councils for a hospital site, Dr. Pepper had spoken of "the gifts of munificent individuals and wealthy corporations," which had amounted in the course of a few months to nearly one hundred and seventy-five thousand dollars. Probably since the days of the great Sanitary Fair in Philadelphia so large a sum had not been raised in the city in so brief a time, and the gifts were with few exceptions in response to Dr. Pepper's personal solicitation. He wrote innumerable letters and made innumerable calls. Some of these letters are in existence. Those to the officials of wealthy corporations, such as the great railroads, emphasized the advantage which the proposed hospital would be to the employees of the roads.[1] With individuals he emphasized the general need of a hospital and appealed to their sympathies.

Knowing that in the discharge of their duties members of the legal profession are frequently called upon to offer suggestions to persons who are about to make disposition of their property, he issued a special appeal to the lawyers November 1, 1872, in behalf of the hospital. Five thousand dollars, he said, would endow a free bed which would be known by the donor's name, and would give relief on an average to twelve persons yearly. "There is evidence," so the appeal concluded, "that in no other way can the same amount of good be done by the same sum of money,"[2] and a copy of the appeal containing a form of bequest of personal and of real property was sent to the lawyers of Penn-

[1] MS. letter to the Board of Directors of the Lehigh Valley Railroad (n. d.).

[2] Circular, November 1, 1872, signed William Pepper, Chairman of Finance Committee, 3 pp.

sylvania and the neighboring States. While it is difficult to measure the immediate response to this appeal, it is worthy of special mention as indicative of the completeness of Dr. Pepper's method in his public work. As the years pass the hospital is remembered in many wills for the purpose which his appeal emphasized.

At this time there was a rumor that Edwin Forrest, the distinguished actor, a citizen of Philadelphia, was contemplating the endowment of some public charity, and Dr. Pepper addressed an eloquent letter to him urging the claims of the hospital;[1] but Mr. Forrest had already decided to endow a Home for Actors, and it does not appear that he gave any money to the hospital. The railroads responded generously, as did nearly every individual whom Dr. Pepper approached. Large donations were not expected from any source, for Philadelphia had not yet become acquainted with Pepper's plans for municipal improvement, nor can it be said that these plans were then much more than undeveloped hopes within himself. Among the remarkable men of the city at this time was Isaiah V. Williamson, reputed to be the wealthiest person in Philadelphia. He was more famed for saving money than for giving it away, and no one imagined that he would assist in the hospital movement. But his great wealth attracted Dr. Pepper, who, trusting to his own genius in dealing with the man, obtained an interview with him in his office, which has been described as "one of the darkest little rooms in one of the narrowest streets of Philadelphia." Mr. Richard Wood has given an account of this interview: "For twenty minutes or more he listened in silence to the eloquence the occasion drew forth, briefly asked two pertinent

[1] MS. letter to Edwin Forrest, Esq. (n. d.).

questions, silently listened again for a few minutes to the replies, said he would think the matter over, and closed the interview." [1]

In a few weeks he announced his decision to Dr. Pepper: he would give the hospital fifty thousand dollars. This unexpected contribution at a critical time in its history seemed also to mark a crisis in the life of Mr. Williamson, for from this time he became a generous supporter of many public and private charities. Eventually the hospital received one hundred thousand dollars from him, and the University an equal sum, and he left his vast estate as a munificent endowment for a training school for mechanics, now a flourishing institution at Williamson School, in the neighborhood of Philadelphia. Small subscriptions to the hospital were undoubtedly secured the more easily by Dr. Pepper's plan for their payment in four annual instalments and by giving an opportunity to endow hospital beds in the name of the donor, at five thousand dollars apiece.

Dr. Pepper's efforts were so successful that by November 16, 1872, the two hundred and fifty thousand dollars, upon the securing of which the State appropriation was conditioned, had been raised. Such a service as he had done was without precedent in the city's annals. He had inaugurated a movement of vast public concern, and within a year and a half had secured above three hundred and fifty thousand dollars to carry it to a successful end. But as at least two hundred thousand dollars would be absorbed in the erection of the building, and as, by the terms of the appropriation from the State, the hospital authorities were bound to receive injured persons not exceeding two

[1] Benjamin Franklin and the University of Pennsylvania, p. 345.

hundred in number whenever they presented themselves, it was evident that the amount remaining for an endowment fund was wholly inadequate, and it was determined to present a petition to the Legislature for a further grant of one hundred thousand dollars, conditioned upon the raising of one hundred thousand additional. This would give an endowment of three hundred and fifty thousand dollars. To make this petition the more effective, the judges and lawyers of Philadelphia and influential citizens in other parts of the State were appealed to by Dr. Pepper to use their influence with the Legislature to secure a second appropriation.

In his second petition to the General Assembly he recited the progress which the friends of the hospital had made, and particularly the response of the public to the appeal for funds and of the City Councils by a grant of land for the hospital. Accompanying the petition were copies of the architect's plans for the building.[1]

At this time, the winter of 1872 and '73, the Constitutional Convention of Pennsylvania was in session at Harrisburg, but soon after adjourned to meet in Philadelphia on the seventh of January. Its members were representative men from every district of the State, and Dr. Pepper was quick to seize upon the opportunity which the assembling of such a body afforded. He knew that if he could interest the members of the Convention in the hospital, he could influence, through them, the members of the Legislature. To this end he prevailed upon the Trustees of the University to extend an official invitation to the Legislature

[1] Petition to the Senate and House of Representatives of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, 1873 (*In re* the Hospital); broad sheet.

and to the Convention to attend a reception in the College Hall and to inspect the University on February 8 and thus to become personally acquainted with its usefulness and to see the wisdom of its request for State aid in its new enterprise, a great free hospital. The Convention delegates attended almost in a body; not so the members of the Legislature. But the gathering at the University was representative and included many eminent citizens of the State. Dr. Pepper received the visitors and conducted them through the University buildings. He particularly directed their attention to the laboratories and to the facilities for scientific and practical education. This thoughtful attention by the Trustees and their friends to the members of the Constitutional Convention, on the day immediately following their assembling in the city, made a highly favorable impression upon them and greatly helped forward the hospital cause. Several addresses were delivered, of which the most notable was by Dr. Pepper,—an earnest appeal for the new hospital. Dr. D. Hayes Agnew presented the opportunities of the medical school and emphasized the gratuitous service to all citizens of the State which the Faculty could render in the new hospital. The Honorable Thomas Chalfant, a State Senator, responded on behalf of the Legislature.[1]

The two months which followed were months of ceaseless activity and effort on Dr. Pepper's part. Finally, on April 9, the appropriation bill was passed containing a grant of one hundred thousand dollars to the University on condition that it raise a like amount, and that the entire State appropriation should be expended in the erection of a hos-

[1] Philadelphia *Press*, February 10, 1873.

pital in which at least two hundred free beds should forever be maintained.

This aid from the State enabled the University to hasten forward the construction of the hospital. Dr. Pepper was made chairman of the building committee and accepted the duty of superintending the construction of the building. The records show that he gave personal attention to all the practical problems which arose.[1] Through his ceaseless activity the conditional one hundred thousand was raised, and with the payment of the second State appropriation the total amount which he had secured aggregated over five hundred and fifty thousand dollars.[2]

The opening of the hospital, June 4, 1874, was made an occasion of public interest. Distinguished citizens were present from all parts of the Commonwealth. The Governor of the State, Hon. John F. Hartranft, presided. The oration[3] was delivered by Hon. William A. Wallace, who

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[1] The contracts are in his handwriting,—*e.g.*, MS. agreement between John Crompt and Dr. Pepper for iron and stone work for University Hospital, May 19, 1873.

[2] $552,042.

[3] See the address and copies of important documents in the early history of the hospital, including a list of the subscribers to its fund, in "An Account of the Inauguration of the Hospital of the University of Pennsylvania;" containing the addresses of His Excellency Governor Hartranft and Hon. William A. Wallace, with a description of the plans of the building and an appeal to the public by William Pepper, A.M., M.D., Chairman of the Finance Committee of the Board of Contributors and of the Building Committee of the Hospital Commission. Published by order of the Board of Trustees. Philadelphia: Collins, Printer, 705 Jayne Street, 1874. 41 pp.

had been a powerful friend of the new enterprise almost from its inception.

The hospital was now no longer a proposition on paper. Its needs speedily became numerous and pressing. Its management was soon unable to meet the demands put upon it, and its friends decided to make another appeal to the Legislature for an appropriation of one hundred and twenty-five thousand dollars to build the east wing, on condition that one hundred thousand dollars should be raised as an endowment fund. Dr. Pepper took up the task with his accustomed energy. He won the support of the Board of Public Charities.[1] He pushed his conquest in all directions, but he soon discovered that he had taught rival institutions his own formidable tactics. The Legislature was overwhelmed by such a flood of petitions that it was impossible to respond to all without bankrupting the treasury. The undertaking failed, and seventeen years passed before the University Hospital again asked the State for aid.

His devotion to the welfare of the hospital continued through life. It was manifested by his professional services and wise counsel and also by the monetary support which he was instrumental in bringing to it. In 1882 he started a movement which culminated in the establishment of a department for patients suffering with chronic diseases. He interested Mr. Henry C. Gibson in the undertaking, who became so fully enlisted in it that he constructed an additional wing to the hospital, formally opened in 1883, and known as the Gibson wing for chronic diseases. In this year Mr. Henry Seybert bequeathed the sum of sixty thousand

[1] MS. letter from George L. Harrison to Dr. Pepper, December 30, 1874.

dollars to the hospital, the income of which, by Mr. Seybert's will, was to be devoted to the maintenance of a ward in connection with the department of chronic diseases, the ward "to be named and designated as my friend Dr. William Pepper shall desire it." When the hospital movement was started Dr. Pepper contemplated the securing of an ultimate endowment fund of three-quarters of a million. We have seen how nearly he accomplished this undertaking in the short space of three years. By the year 1891 the response of the public to the needs of the hospital had resulted in its accumulating endowment funds in excess of six hundred thousand dollars, and in its possessing enough property in addition to make the total value of site, buildings, and endowment somewhat over one million dollars. Dr. Pepper had the satisfaction of witnessing, in 1897, a year before his death, the generous accomplishment of the hospital plan which he had projected and the execution of which he had initiated more than a quarter of a century before.

III

MEDICAL DIRECTOR OF THE CENTENNIAL; THE ADDRESS ON HIGHER MEDICAL EDUCATION

1870–1880

THE labor of creating the hospital and securing adequate funds for its maintenance was enough of a task quite fully to occupy an ordinary man, but while doing this Dr. Pepper was active in his profession and attentive to social duties. He gradually relinquished the minor and preliminary offices to which he had been chosen as a young physician, in order to give his time fully to his practice. Thus, in 1870, after four years' service, he resigned as curator of the Pathological Museum of the Pennsylvania Hospital. "While of the hospital, he was an enthusiastic worker. One could rarely enter his room without finding him peering into the microscope or dissecting out an aneurism or some other morbid product of the autopsy."[1] It was while serving as resident physician in this hospital that he and his colleague, Dr. Edward Rhoads, assisted Dr. J. Forsyth Meigs in the investigation out of which grew their joint paper on "The Morphological Changes of the Blood in Malarial Fever,"[2] published in 1867, but prepared a year or more earlier. It is the first

[1] James Tyson, M.D., Address on Behalf of the Medical Faculty of the University of Pennsylvania, and of the College of Physicians, November 29, 1898.

[2] Pamphlet (n. d.), 46 pp.

contribution of great value with which Dr. Pepper's name is connected. Some of the pigment waves which this contribution describes were possibly malarial parasites, but the authors evidently did not think of this. The phenomena chronicled in this pamphlet have since been partially explained through the experiments of Pasteur.

In 1870 he became Director of the Biological Section of the Academy of Natural Sciences, and also a member of several medical societies, of which the principal were the Obstetrical Society of Philadelphia, the County Medical Society,[1] the State Medical Society, and the American Neurological Association. In all these he was active and occasionally he delivered a formal paper on some professional matter occurring in his widening practice. His lectures on Morbid Anatomy, with which his career as a medical teacher had opened, were delivered in the University in 1868–1870, and were published soon after their close. His lectures on Clinical Medicine, which began in 1870 and continued six years, were reported and published.[2] He also gave lectures in the University on Physical Diagnosis, which work seems to have been a voluntary service on his part. While resident physician at the hospital and serving as curator and pathologist he prepared a catalogue of its museum. His first hospital report on the "Fluorescence of Tissues" was prepared in conjunction with Dr. Rhoads.

His earliest paper embodying his clinical experience, entitled "Phosphorus Poisoning and Fatty Degeneration," appeared in the *American Journal of the Medical Sciences*

[1] January 19, 1870.

[2] Those for 1873 were reported by Dr. Louis Starr and printed in the *Medical and Surgical Reporter*.

(Hays's *Journal*) in April, 1869, and was followed by one on "Variola," in October.

In association with Dr. Meigs he wrote the treatise on "Diseases of Children," first published in 1870, a work which passed through four editions during the next ten years. It was largely his own revision of Meigs's original book, and was for years the standard text-book on the subject. In 1883 he read a Memoir of Dr. Meigs before the American Philosophical Society.[1] After honoring the career of this distinguished physician and medical writer, he referred to his own relations with him as joint author of the above work by which Dr. Meigs is best known. "In 1869 he requested me to associate myself with him in the task of bringing the work up to date, and the fourth edition, which appeared in 1870, has been followed by three others, the last (the eighth) having been published in 1882. The estimation in which this has come to be held may be appreciated from the language of the London *Lancet:* 'It is a work of nine hundred good American pages and is more encyclopædical than clinical. But it is clinical, and withal most effectually brought up to the light, pathological and therapeutical, of the present day. The book is like so many other good American medical books which we have lately had occasion to notice; it marvelously combines a *résumé* of all the best European lectures and practice, with evidence throughout of good personal judgment, knowledge, and experience. There are few diseases of children which it does not treat of fully and wisely.'" The Memoir called forth a note from one well qualified to judge of its worth:

[1] October 19, 1883; published in its Transactions; also in pamphlet form, 14 pp.

"PHILADELPHIA, November 22, 1883.

"I have just read your beautiful Memoir of Dr. J. Forsyth Meigs, and I can say from my own personal knowledge, that in what you have spoken in high, the highest terms, there is not a word of excess in the praise you have given him. The Memoir is just what it should be in tone and style of the man whose virtues it records—simple, earnest, strikingly touching in its narrative of that large life of unselfish devotion to the claims of suffering humanity.

"As a patient and friend of Dr. Meigs, and as a citizen of Philadelphia, I thank you cordially for this beautiful notice of one of the best men we have had among us.

"I am, faithfully yours,

"GEO. W. BIDDLE."[1]

In the same year, 1870, he wrote an article on "Tracheotomy in Chronic Laryngitis," for the *Philadelphia Medical Times;* in 1871,[2] for the same periodical, articles on "Abdominal Tumors,"[3] "Cystic Disease of the Pancreas,"[4] and "Progressive Muscular Sclerosis;"[5] for the *American Journal of the Medical Sciences*, a paper on "Trephining in Cerebral Disease"[6] and an editorial on "The Board of Public Charities;" in the *Medical Times*, February 15, 1871, a case of "Sclerosis of the Legs and Feet, with Anesthesia and Ataxia;" and in the Proceedings of the College of Physicians, February 15, 1871, a case of "Scirrhus Pylori."[7]

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[1] Dr. Meigs was succeeded by his son, Dr. Arthur V. Meigs, to secure whose election Dr. Pepper used his influence. See Pepper's Memoir of John Forsyth Meigs, p. 3, and MS. letter of Dr. John F. Meigs to Dr. Pepper, November 25, 1881. Pepper MSS.

[2] February 15.

[3] Pamphlet, 12 pp.

[4] January 1.

[5] June 15, July 1.

[6] Transactions of the College of Physicians, May 18, 1870.

[7] *Medical Times*, May 1, 1871.

In December, 1871, he began the preparation of an essay for the Astley Cooper Prize on certain affections of the spinal cord, but the pressure of his hospital work and the serious illness of his brother George compelled him to abandon it. In the October numbers of the *Philadelphia Medical Times* appeared two articles[1] by him embodying the results of his visit to Europe. In the same periodical for 1872[2] he had a paper on "Emphysema of the Neck, associated with Lesion of the Lung."

In 1872 his friend Dr. Rhoads died, and at the request of the College of Physicians he wrote a Memoir of him. One passage in it is worthy of preservation, both as indicative of his affection for Rhoads and as a prophecy of his own career:

"Thus early closed the life of one so rich in gifts, both of mind and character, that a career of rare usefulness and success seemed certainly to await him. Measured by the standard of those achievements which win the world's applause, his life may well seem imperfect; measured by the standard of those acquirements which increase and advance human knowledge, it may well seem to fall short; but when we measure it by a far higher standard, that of a consistent conformity to the highest law of our nature, and of uniform devotion to the noblest purposes, it cannot fail to elicit our admiration. The fame awarded by the world is mostly given only as the prize of great achievements, and hence it must always follow that comparatively few of the really great men can ever receive full recognition. Where one is afforded ample opportunities for exerting his full powers, and a long life in which to bring his work to completion, many are either never offered the suitable occasion, or, saddest of all, are stricken down in the midst of their successful efforts too early to have accomplished aught worthy of their powers. The opportunity of judging rightly of such lives, where capacities,

[1] October 1 and 15.

[2] July 1.

not deeds, are to guide the judgment, must always be limited to the comparatively small circle of each one's intimate friends. But to these the true fame and eminence of the man are clear and established; they feel the deep truth of the words

> 'The greatest gift the hero leaves his race
> Is to have been a hero,'

and ever treasure the memory of that apparently fruitless and imperfect life as a proof of the lofty capacities of our nature, and as an undying type of true greatness." [1]

Twenty-six years afterward, among Dr. Pepper's papers was found a bundle of letters written by Rhoads to him between the years 1865 and 1872. They were marked "For Preservation." Though faded and fragmentary, they preserved some sign of the tender relations which had existed between the two men in their youth. Dr. Rhoads's vivid descriptions, in these letters, of his life in London while attending lectures, usually concluded with a comparison in favor of the medical opportunities of Philadelphia. Many years after Rhoads's death Dr. Pepper remarked to an ac-

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[1] Obituary of Edward Rhoads, M.D., read before the College of Physicians of Philadelphia, February 5, 1872, and extracted from its Transactions. By William Pepper, M.D., Fellow of the College. Philadelphia: Collins, Printer, 705 Jayne Street. 1872.

In the Memoir of his friend, Dr. Pepper quoted these lines from Lycidas:

> "Fame is no plant that grows on mortal soil,
> Nor in the glistering foil
> Set off to the world, nor in broad rumor lies:
> But lives and spreads aloft by those pure eyes,
> And perfect witness of all-judging Jove,
> As he pronounces lastly on each deed;
> Of so much fame in heaven expect thy meed."

quaintance that he cherished the memory of his early friend as one of the inspirations of his life.

The relations in which Dr. Pepper stood to his fellows at this time are exemplified by two letters to him:

"February 24, 1872.

"MY DEAR SIR:

"I am in receipt of your very kind note of to-day's date, accompanying the valuable works on 'Prisons and Lazarettos,' by Howard, of which you ask my acceptance. I beg to answer you that it is very grateful to me to possess these volumes as coming from one whose intelligence and energy, exerted for the public good and in the cause of humanity, have been so conspicuous, and have impressed my own mind with indelible respect, and my heart with warm esteem.

"For myself, your praise is wholly undeserved, and I am often shamed by the more valuable efforts of others in the works which I can only *love* as much as they.

"GEORGE L. HARRISON."[1]

The following is from one who was deeply attached to him throughout life.

"May 10, 1872.

"MY DEAR DOCTOR:

"A few weeks ago my poor boy wrote to thank you for welcome refreshment.

"Now he needs no more; but if in spirit he is conscious of what is passing here, he must be soothed by the offering you laid upon his lifeless brow, and which seemed to typify his innocent life, the fragrance and flower of his genius, and the evanescent nature of his earthly ambition. Let me thank you for your touching tribute to his memory, and believe me, very sincerely,

"Your friend,

"ALFRED STILLÉ."[2]

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[1] MS. letter.

[2] MS. letter.

The articles which he contributed to the medical journals were usually first read before some one of the societies to which he belonged, and, not infrequently, were the subjects of debate and criticism. His activity in these societies contributed to his rapid improvement as a public speaker, and he seems to have utilized the meetings as he would have utilized the Master's Oration—as a "fine chance." To him nothing was so deplorable as the loss of an opportunity. He therefore availed himself of every opportunity to advance his rank in his profession, whether by addressing one of the many medical societies to which he belonged or in publishing his clinical lectures.[1] The medical journal which he had founded received his lively support, and scarcely a number appeared during 1873, 1874 and 1875 which did not contain an article by him.[2]

In October, 1874, in the *Journal of the Medical Sciences*, he published an article on the "Local Treatment of Pulmonary Cavities by Injection through the Chest Wall," a piece of original work of a brilliant sort. A year later, in the same journal, he published an article on "Progressive Pernicious Anæmia or Anæmatosis," which is the first account in medical literature of the involvement of the bone-marrow in pernicious anæmia, which term, anæmatosis, was

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[1] *E.g.*, Clinical Lectures on a Case of Hydrothorax in which Paracentesis was performed: *Philadelphia Medical Times*, June 7 and 14, 1873.

[2] Suggestions for Treatment of Collapse in Cholera; and Rupture of the Aortic Valve: *Philadelphia Medical Times*, June, October, 1873. Local Treatment of Tuberculosis Cavities, March, 1874; Chronic Pericarditis, September, 1874; Operative Treatment of Pleural Effusion, July 4 and 11, 1875.

taken up by the profession and has passed into use.[1] Not long afterward an eminent Italian physician made observations of a similar kind.

In 1875 he delivered the annual address before the Pennsylvania State Medical Society,[2] and published a paper of unusual interest, considering his recent public activities, on the "Sanitary Relations of Hospitals," which he had read before the American Public Health Association at its annual meeting in Philadelphia, November 10, 1874. It embodied the scientific data which he had gathered from multitudinous sources at home and abroad since his first thought, in 1870, of creating a University Hospital. In the same year his remarks on "Encysted Dropsy of the Abdomen," before the College of Physicians, were published in its Transactions. In the *Medical Times* he reviewed, in an interesting article, a case of "Retro-pharyngeal Abscess,"[3] and a paper on "Cheyne-Stokes Respiration in Tubercular Meningitis" appeared in the *Times* of 1876. In this year he was elected Professor of Clinical Medicine in the University, to succeed Dr. Alfred Stillé, an honor of peculiar distinction, as he thus succeeded to the chair vacated by the death of his father twelve years before.[4]

Two years before he had been appointed Professor of Clinical Medicine in the University Hospital.[5] In 1873 he

[1] It has been accepted by the distinguished German specialist, Eichhorst.

[2] Published in its Transactions for that year and republished in pamphlet form. Philadelphia: Collins, Printer, 1875; 28 pp.

[3] September.

[4] MS. notice of appointment, Cadwalader Biddle, Secretary, April 4, 1876.

[5] MS. letter from Cadwalader Biddle, February 5.

was offered, but declined, an election as Trustee of the University, and also as a member of the Board of Health, but soon after his appointment as Professor of Clinical Medicine in the Hospital he accepted an election to its Board of Managers. In 1875 he became a member of the New York Medical Society, and of the Centennial Medical Commission. He also became a member of the Social Art Club. It was in this year that, as chairman of the committee to organize the Art Museum, his first serious effort was made to organize a School of Industrial Arts.[1] The name of his cousin, William Platt Pepper, is identified with the later history of the school.

On June 25, 1873, he was married to Miss Frances Sergeant Perry, daughter of Dr. Christopher Grant Perry, of Newport, Rhode Island, and Frances Sergeant, of Phila-

[1] See Report of the Provisional Committee, Dr. Pepper, Chairman (John Sartain, Henry C. Gibson, Thomas Cochran, Coleman Sellers, James L. Claghorn and Samuel Wagner, Jr.), of a meeting of citizens held November 19, 1875. The object therein stated was to establish in Philadelphia, for the State of Pennsylvania, a Museum of Art in its branches as applied to industry and in all of its technical applications, and to provide in connection therewith, with a special view to the development of the art industries of the State of Pennsylvania, opportunities and means of giving instruction "in drawing, painting, modelling and designing in their industrial applications through lectures, practical schools, and special libraries." And in "character and general scope, to be in all respects similar to that of the South Kensington Museum, London." See also a letter by Professor Walter Smith, State Director for Art Education, Massachusetts, Boston, September 25, 1875, to Dr. Pepper and others constituting the Provisional Committee on the organization of a Museum of Art in Philadelphia.

delphia. Dr. Perry, the eldest son of Commodore Oliver Hazard Perry, was both a lawyer and a physician, and was an alumnus of the University of Pennsylvania. Miss Perry's mother was the daughter of Richard Bache and Sarah Franklin, the only daughter of Dr. Benjamin and Deborah Franklin. Until his marriage Dr. Pepper resided at 1215 Walnut Street, the home of his childhood, but soon after his marriage he purchased the house at 1811 Spruce Street, adjoining the residence of Mrs. Perry. Alterations were made and the buildings were thrown together. The two front rooms of the first floor became his offices. Some years after his marriage he and his fellow-trustees of his father's estate purchased for his mother the adjoining house, No. 1813, where she lived with one of his sisters. Two other sisters soon afterward took houses near by, so that for many years the four families were immediate neighbors.

His father had served as vestryman of St. Mark's Church, and not long after his death Dr. Pepper succeeded him in this office; but in 1876 he resigned the position, and his family in later years attended St. James's Church, at Twenty-second and Walnut Streets.

On November 26, 1875, he was appointed Medical Director of the International Exhibition to be held in Philadelphia during the following year. Early in 1876 the Medical Department of the approaching Exhibition was organized, consisting of the Medical Director, a Staff composed of six medical officers, and a Secretary who was also to be resident physician at the hospital on the Exhibition grounds.

The problems before the Medical Director were numerous and perplexing. He was general adviser on sanitary questions, and it became incumbent upon him to issue in

popular form authoritative information on the hygienic condition of Philadelphia. The circular which he issued was widely distributed and reprinted both in this country and in Europe. It remains a valuable summary of the condition of Philadelphia in 1876. It was followed by other circulars, during the season, treating of the sanitary precautions necessary to be taken by visitors to the Exposition. The important subjects of the drainage and water supplies of the Exhibition grounds were, however, placed entirely under the control of the Chief Engineer. Almost the first duty of Dr. Pepper was to superintend the erection and construction of a hospital on the grounds. It was placed in a retired, shaded and picturesque location on Lansdowne Avenue; was a model hospital and embodied much of the experience he had gained in building the University Hospital.

At the close of the Centennial he issued an official report as Medical Director. The efficiency of the medical service during the one hundred and fifty-nine days in which the Centennial was open to the public and was visited by nearly ten million persons, is shown by the fact that out of the nearly sixty-five hundred cases treated in the Lansdowne Hospital there were only four deaths: two from apoplexy and two from organic disease of the heart. There was much sickness among the resident foreign representatives, especially among the Japanese, some fifty in number, whose beautiful dwellings of oriental workmanship and taste were wholly unsuitable to the spring and autumn weather of Philadelphia. The danger from disease was increased by the mode of heating these dwellings—a small shallow box filled with sand and placed in the centre of each room, upon which a few small pieces of charcoal were kept burning;

there was no outlet for the fumes of the burning carbon and no ventilation when the rooms were closed.

The efficiency of the Bureau of Medical Service was appreciated by the public. It is safe to assert that never before did so vast a concourse of people assemble and meet with so few accidents and disasters while attending an international exposition. The public was indebted to Dr. Pepper almost wholly for the sanitary arrangements which existed at the Centennial. The English Government formally expressed its appreciation of the care and attention which its Commission received from the Bureau of Medical Service.[1] A more personal recognition of Dr. Pepper's services was made by the King of Norway and Sweden, who appointed him a Knight Commander of the Order of St. Olaf.[2]

His success in the medical directorship of the Centennial was recognized by his friends and by the public at large as evidence of extraordinary executive ability. He was only thirty-three years of age: an age when most physicians are getting settled into practice and when few have achieved reputation. His conduct of the University Hospital matter and his administration of the Medical Bureau at the Centennial had made his name familiar to the people of Philadelphia and to many thousands in other parts of the Union. The result was a sudden increase in his practice as a consultant, which from this time became extensive and exacting. His private practice, of course, was greatly increased, but he did not allow his duties at the Hospital or at the

[1] MS. letters from British Commission to Dr. Pepper, December 11, 1876; January 29, 1877.

[2] MS. letter from C. Lewenhaupt, Swedish and Norwegian Minister, to Dr. Pepper, July 10, 1877.

Centennial to engross his attention so as to interfere with his contributions to the medical journals. A paper on "Addison's Disease" appeared in the *Journal of the Medical Sciences* for January, 1877. His clinical lectures were published both in New York and Philadelphia.[1]

On March 7 of this year he read a paper before the College of Physicians of Philadelphia, on the "Administration of Nitrate of Silver and the Occurrence of a Blue Line on the Gums as the Earliest Sign of Argyria,"[2] an original observation of this condition. Dr. Ringer, an English authority, writing in 1889, attributes the discovery to Dr. Pepper.[3]

With the new year he added to his clinical lectures a course on Morbid Anatomy, a subject in which he took a deep interest all of his life. Of academic importance at this time was his address, on October 1, 1877, on the subject of "Higher Medical Education, the True Interest of the Public and of the Profession," delivered as an introduction to the one hundred and twelfth course of lectures at the Medical Department of the University of Pennsylvania. The address was published by the Board of Trustees.[4]

Dr. Pepper had utilized his opportunities as Medical Director of the Centennial to inform himself of the condition of medical instruction in foreign countries. Through the assistance of the Secretary of State, Honorable William M. Evarts, and the Assistant Secretary, Honorable Fred-

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[1] In the *New York Medical Record*, the *Medical Reporter*, and the *Medical Times*.

[2] Transactions, Third Series, Volume II.

[3] Hand-book of Therapeutics, by Sydney Ringer, M.D., Twelfth Edition.

[4] Philadelphia: Collins, Printer, 1877. 46 pp.

"FAIRY HILL," COUNTRY SEAT OF GEORGE PEPPER

From the painting by Russell Smith

(See note on page 24)

erick W. Seward, he obtained a vast mass of data in foreign lands. The Centennial year was naturally one of retrospection: the closing of an old era, the opening of a new one. Dr. Pepper was looking far into the future, and he utilized his opportunity at the University to review in this address the whole history of modern medicine and to point out the reforms needed in this country, and especially at the University, to bring higher medical education into conformity with the demands of the profession and of the public. The address possesses historic interest. It is an exact description of the status of medical schools and medical education in the United States in 1876. Compared with the status at the close of the nineteenth century, the condition seems startling. Inefficient preparation, inadequate clinical and laboratory equipment, insufficient training, excessive multiplication of medical schools, a course of study altogether too brief for professional preparation, and the prevalence of the fee system for professors and instructors instead of a system of graduated salaries, were the principal evils of the day. To correct these was the serious purpose of Dr. Pepper's life, and the method of correction was the theme of his address. It was received by the better part of the profession in the spirit in which it was given; but "the foes of a man are those of his own household," and many of the reforms which Dr. Pepper urged in this address were stubbornly resisted by some of his colleagues. Opposition to reforms upon which he had fixed his heart only stimulated him to greater exertion, and the fate of the old system ultimately befell those who now opposed him.

On November 27, 1877, the Honorable John Welsh was tendered a farewell banquet at the Aldine by prominent citizens of Philadelphia, the occasion being his de-

parture as Minister Plenipotentiary to the court of St. James, to which he had been appointed by President Hayes. The occasion afforded an opportunity to recognize in a public manner the great services which Mr. Welsh had rendered to the University. In his remarks on this occasion Dr. Pepper said,—

"We have many noble hospitals, admirably adapted for the needs of this great and growing community, but each and all of them are crippled by want of adequate endowment. Philadelphia can now boast of a University so well organized and so well equipped in all its departments that it needs only the general support of the community, and the generous assistance of the wealthy, to enable it to become so powerful as a centre of learning and thought that it shall bring back to this city its lost pre-eminence as the centre of literary culture and intellectual activity on this continent. No city can hope ever to hold such a position whose citizens do not feel a pride in their institutions of learning and of art, and show their pride by the loyal and liberal support they always extend to them. And it seems to me that it is precisely this duty which is impressed upon us most strongly by the example of such men as Mr. Welsh."[1]

The friendship existing between Mr. Welsh and Dr. Pepper is intimated by the following letter:

"MONNETIN, SAVOY, FRANCE, September 21, 1878.

"MY DEAR DR. PEPPER:

"I little thought so long a time had elapsed since your two letters reached me. I will not apologize for their neglect, as it seems as if it was impossible for me, having regard for the various demands upon my time, to have done much better . . . and yet I have many unanswered notes upon my file. Dr. Abbott will have long since reached you, having completed his mission, certainly to his satisfaction, and I hope to yours. He seemed to me to be entirely in earnest.

[1] Philadelphia *North American*, November 28, 1877.

"I am glad to know that Mr. Bennett has had the good judgment to put himself in such confidential relations with you. One of the common errors of the day is the desire of creating something new instead of developing to its full extent an institution which already is in existence, has a position of usefulness, and is under good government. In Boston and in New Haven there has been a city pride in their institutions which has caused large sums of money to be given to them by individuals whose names are connected with their gifts, than which I know of no gifts which have proved more useful. This spirit we must cultivate. I am quite sure that a thorough consideration of the subject on the part of any one, who wants to make a gift thoroughly and permanently useful, will convince him that in no way can he be more successful than in connection with our University. It is well established. It is well situated. It has now eight hundred thousand people at its doors and with the State whose name it bears from which to draw its students, on which to shed influence. It is a noble field. The way you suggest, or perhaps, I ought to say Mr. Bennett suggests, appears to me most wise. A large dormitory, with scholarships to bear his name, would secure to him an honored immortality. Since my residence in England just such an instance of benevolence has come under my notice in connection with the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge, founded many centuries ago, more active in their usefulness now than they were originally, and promising to continue so whilst time lasts. Keble College is the outgrowth of the generosity of some of his friends, and among them the chapel, one of the most beautiful and costly of modern times, is the gift of a Mr. Gibbs, recently deceased, and I was present at, and, to my embarrassment, had to take part in, the dedication of the refectory and library, the gift of two of Mr. Gibbs's sons. I must say that what you propose would be most agreeable to me as the donor, because I would alone provide for the board and lodging of the students and fellows and to make myself feel as the exclusive benefactor I would provide that so much should go to the income

for the education of the students and fellows. It is rather a curious fact that money given for educational purposes has been more faithfully applied and its purposes have been more permanent and less subject to change than most other kinds of benefactions.

"I am glad to know that you took occasion to impress upon the friends of the University the necessity of regarding it as a unit. Not until that feeling prevails more extensively than it does now will it gain the strength that it needs, and when it does the University will have the hold upon the community which it should have had long since. I have schooled myself never to despair of gaining the ear of any one, and therefore I would continue judiciously to try and excite Dr. Evans's[1] interest in our work. I am afraid that he and his money are too firmly welded together to part during life, but he may like to indulge in the pleasing anticipation of the good that his industry will secure to future generations, and your advice may help him to make a good will, although it may fail to draw from him anything for your present purpose. I expect to be in Paris next week, when I shall endeavor to see him. I hope your Dental Department will be in readiness for your fall course. I shall await with great interest the accounts of the fall opening of the several schools and classes.

"I am sorry to know that the political movements on this side the ocean take so deep a hold upon you. It is particularly unfortunate when the hours due to sleep are intruded upon by thought. With me, when in health, to lie down on my bed is to sleep, and when I awake, as I am apt to do once or twice, to catch a thought is but the step to a renewed slumber. I hope you will not cultivate insomnia. It is too often done by students. I believe it one of the most serious ills that flesh is heir to. During all the agitation of the Eastern question it gave me no concern, for I felt assured that the struggle

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[1] Dr. Thomas W. Evans, the celebrated American dentist, in Paris, who bequeathed the bulk of his estate to the city of Philadelphia to found a Museum and Dental Institute in his memory.

would be one confined to a division of the spoils. It so proved. I do not believe Russia ever thought of an armed adversary but in Turkey. All that she gained was due to the neutrality of the other nations, and her only care was to retain what she could. The sequel proved that my judgment was correct, and when I twitted my English friends with the question what they wanted they assured me that under no consideration would they increase their territory. I know they wanted Egypt, but the French think that their traditions would not allow it. They looked towards Crete, but they had been the avowed friends of Greece and it would seem ungenerous did they take it; Russia consenting, perhaps suggesting, they were satisfied with Cyprus and the prospective advantages which are yet in store in Asia Minor and Syria. Beaconsfield is now the man of the age, towering above all immediately around him, and, I have no doubt, drawing from the great eminence he has reached as much gratification as one can well derive from any worldly honors. His appearance does not encourage the expectation that his life will continue many years.

"Mr. King, of Pittsburg, called on me when he was in London. He was chairman of the Committee on Appropriations in our Legisture. I asked him why the appropriation for the University failed last winter. He said it was merely because they had not enough money for both, and, as we had received more than the Jefferson, it was considered right to give to it and that we would get ours this winter or the next session. This you will bear in mind.

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"I have been here a fortnight, walking, eating, sleeping soundly, enjoying fine air, reading and writing a little. Just now I have with me my daughter Ellen and Mrs. Smith, with her husband and their son. In two days we go to Paris. Spend a few days there and return to London. My health has been uninterruptedly good since I left home. I hope that Mrs. Pepper and the children and yourself are well. I fear you have suffered from heat. We have not. The

season has been remarkably pleasant. With kind remembrance to your associates in the University, and to Mrs. Pepper, I am,

"Most sincerely yours,

"JNO. WELSH."

In 1878 Dr. Pepper contributed to current medical literature, and chiefly to the *Philadelphia Medical Times*, one article reporting a case of "Aneurism of the Thoracic Aorta with unusual Physical Signs;"[1] another on "Paracentesis of the Pericardium, with a Successful Case;"[2] and a third, "Catarrhal Jaundice, with Special Reference to the Internal Use of Nitrate of Silver," the last named read before the Pennsylvania State Medical Society and published in its Transactions. He also read a paper before the Philadelphia County Medical Society on "Functional and Organic Anæmias and Milk Transfusion in their Treatment," which was published in the *Medical Times*. His clinical lectures were reported as usual. He published in the *Medical and Surgical Reporter* for May a thoughtful article on "Koumiss," which soon after was reprinted in pamphlet form.

During the next year his clinical lectures were published as usual, and he wrote two professional papers: on the "Completion of Paracentesis of the Pericardium," in the *American Journal of the Medical Sciences*,[3] and on "The Clinical Study of Exophthalmic Goitre," published in the Proceedings of the Pennsylvania State Medical Society. He was chosen a member of the Climate Committee of the American Medical Association, to prepare a special report on "Sanitary and Mineral Waters," which in the form of a

[1] *Medical Times*, January, 1878.

[2] *Medical News and Library*, March, 1878.

[3] April 2, 1879.

"Report on Mineral Springs," prepared in conjunction with Dr. Bowditch, he presented to the Association at its New York meeting in May, 1880. It was printed among its Transactions.[1] At this meeting he read a paper on "The Local Treatment of Pulmonary Cavities." In the same month he read before the Pennsylvania State Medical Society, at its meeting at Altoona, a paper entitled "Practical Remarks on the Treatment of Asthma;" and in June, before the Oxford Medical Society, he read one on "The Treatment of Chronic Rheumatism."[2] In the *Medical Times* for August appeared an article by him on the "Administration of Phosphoric Acid."[3] He was appointed chairman of the Section of Medicine of the American Medical Association for its meeting at Richmond, Virginia, in May, 1881.

During the winter of 1879–1880 he inaugurated the Charity Ball, a social function which has continued to the present time and has contributed annually the profits of its pleasures to the charitable organizations of Philadelphia. Among the many creations of Dr. Pepper none gave him livelier satisfaction than the Charity Ball. It brought together a multitude of people who otherwise, under the conservative rules and traditions of Philadelphia, might never have assembled, and, for the time obliterating many social distinctions, afforded an opportunity for pleasure and public charity. It has become one of the annual events in the life

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[1] In this report Dr. Pepper collaborated with Drs. Henry I. Bowditch, A. N. Bell, Stanford E. Chaille, and Charles Denison; their report was published in pamphlet form.

[2] June 21, 1880. Reprinted in pamphlet form (New York, G. P. Putnam's Sons) from the *Archives of Medicine*, October, 1880. 27 pp.

[3] August 14, 1880.

of the city. Not until 1894 did he retire from active participation in the work of its executive committee, at which time, speaking of the origin and purposes of the ball, he wrote:

"I believe now, as I believed when it was organized fifteen years ago, that it serves a useful purpose in our civic life,[1] and that the interests of our worthy institutions are promoted by having the attention of the entire community drawn each year in this attractive way to the ever-present claims of charity. I am glad to think that much good has already been accomplished and that the enduring success of our Charity Balls is secured by the efficient management of those to whom their interests are confided."[2]

In 1880 he accomplished another piece of work, published under the title of "A Further Contribution to the Local Treatment of Pulmonary Cavities;"[3] and in August of that year reported a similar case in the *Medical and Surgical Reporter*, of Philadelphia.[4]

It was towards the close of the year 1880 that Dr. Pepper was nominated Provost of the University of Pennsylvania, the consequences of which act of the Board of Trustees changed the course of his life. Up to this time he had been the public-spirited physician, active in large undertakings, primarily on behalf of his profession, and of the highest importance to the general welfare of the community. His

[1] In 1883 the University Hospital received twelve thousand five hundred dollars, and in 1889 two thousand dollars from the proceeds of the ball. See Provost's Report for these years.

[2] MS. November 19, 1894.

[3] Transactions of the American Medical Association. Philadelphia: Collins, Printer. 1880. 23 pp.

[4] August 28, 1880, Vol. XLIII., No. 9.

address on "Higher Education the True Interest of the Public and of the Profession," delivered at the opening of the session of the Medical School in 1877, had attracted wide attention because of its clear formulation of the needs of medical education. It was a strong plea for rational instruction, which, of course, implied adequate equipment on the material side. This was Dr. Pepper's first educational address, and, though not the sole or even the primary cause of his nomination to the provostship, pointed the way in which men and things were moving. Its academic breadth and the conviction among the Trustees that its author could put the University upon a sound financial basis, undoubtedly influenced them in making the nomination.

IV

PHYSICIAN AND WRITER

1881–1887

IN February, 1881, Dr. Pepper gave an address before the Philadelphia County Medical Association, taking for his theme "The Treatment of Typhoid Fever." In May, at Richmond, Virginia, he addressed the American Medical Association on "Catarrhal Irritation;"[1] and a week later, the Philadelphia Medical Association on the "Effects of the Prolonged Use of Alcohol on the Organs of the Special Senses." Shortly before this he was honored by Dr. James Tyson who dedicated to him one of his medical works.[2]

In June he entered upon what proved to be his principal medical work, by assuming the editorship of "The System of Medicine by American Authors." In July he gave final revision to the eighth edition of his "Diseases of Children." His election as Provost, in January, was followed by an election as honorary member of the Harrisburg Pathological Society in February,[3] and, in May, as President of the Mutual Aid Society of the Philadelphia County Medical Association. In June, Lafayette College conferred on him the degree of Doctor of Laws. In this month he resigned the Vice-Presidency of the University Club, and in Decem-

[1] May 4, 1881.

[2] MS. letter from Dr. Tyson to Dr. Pepper, April 7, 1881.

[3] February 4, 1881.

ber resigned his office as Trustee of the Pennsylvania Museum and School of Industrial Art. The "System of Medicine," which he had undertaken to supervise and in part to write, occupied him fully during 1882, so that he made fewer contributions than usual during that year to current literature. In April, he received from Dr. Austin Flint the following tribute and recognition of professional work, and particularly of his pamphlet on the "Local Treatment of Pulmonary Cavities,"[1] printed in 1880, but worked out two years earlier:

"New York, April 2, 1882.

"I am engaged in writing my article on 'Phthisis,' and I have been led to read with care and think of your observations with respect to the injection of cavities. I confess with shame that I had not given the matter sufficient consideration prior to the last edition of 'Practice,' and that my first impression was against the utility of experimental trials of the measure. My object in this note is to apologize for not having referred to your labors and to confess frankly that I have not until now appreciated their value.

"Very truly yours,

"A. Flint."[2]

An article on the "Pancreatic Diseases," which appeared in the *Medical News* for December, represents his miscellaneous writings during 1882. In the autumn of this year he was chosen a member of the American Academy of Medicine and was appointed to the committee of arrangements

[1] A Further Contribution to the Local Treatment of Pulmonary Cavities, by William Pepper, A.M., M.D., Professor of Clinical Medicine in the University of Pennsylvania. Philadelphia: Collins, Printer. 1880. 23 pp.

[2] MS.

of the National Association for the Protection of the Insane.[1] He now resigned from the Obstetrical Society, and also as visiting physician to the Children's Hospital, with which he had been for many years identified. His letter of resignation called forth from the officials of the institution a gratifying recognition of his long services.[2]

His lectures at the University on "Renal Diseases" during 1883 appeared regularly in the *Medical Times* of that year. In June he read before the Pennsylvania Medical Society a paper entitled "Contribution to the Clinical Study of Typhlitis," published in its Transactions. He was chosen Vice-President of the local committee to receive the American Association for the Advancement of Science at its approaching meeting in Philadelphia, and on its assembling[3] made the address of welcome.

His clinical lectures for 1884 appeared regularly in the *Medical Bulletin*.[4] In March he delivered the address before the American Medical Association, at Washington, D. C., on the subject of "Epilepsy," and, in April, another on "Force *vs.* Work: Some Practical Remarks on Dietetics in Disease," before the Medical and Chirurgical Faculty of Maryland, at its Baltimore Convention.[5] This address

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[1] MS. letter from Richard J. Dunglison, Secretary, November 6, 1882; elected a member of the Academy October 26, 1882.

[2] MS. letter from F. W. Lewis, Secretary, December 2, 1882.

[3] Academy of Music, September 4, 1884.

[4] *The Medical Bulletin*, A Monthly Journal of Medicine and Surgery, edited by John V. Shoemaker, A.M., M.D., Philadelphia.

[5] April 23, 1884, printed in the Transactions of the Faculty and also in pamphlet form. Baltimore: Journal Publishing Company Print, No. 35 Park Avenue. 1884. 20 pp.

attracted wide attention and is all worthy of quotation. These passages indicate its scope and spirit:

"In estimating the influence of the great factors of our physical life upon the development of the individual or of the race, I have long felt that far too much importance has been attached to climate and far too little to diet and personal hygiene. No more can the average man attain his full moral growth and the normal perception of freedom and of obligation under evil forms of government, or under the sway of gross religious superstitions, than he can attain his full physical development under the influence of bad dietetic traditions and of uneducated appetites. No weight can be attached to the fact that exceptional individuals in every community display the highest physical and intellectual health and vigor while pursuing courses of life admissibly injurious. A separate study of these exceptional cases is much needed, and would possess great interest and practical value. But, for the establishment of the laws of dietetics and hygiene, we are concerned only with the average man, and of him we may safely make the above assertion.

"No people need the diffusion of sound information on these subjects as badly as we do. In India we have had the opportunity of observing the curiously interesting results of subjecting large numbers of Anglo-Saxons, and in many instances through successive generations, to climatic conditions diametrically opposite to those familiar to that race. In Australia a similar experiment is being conducted on an even larger scale. And I believe the verdict of the best observers is to the effect that, with suitable diet and regimen, the characteristic health and energy of the race will be preserved unimpaired. But in this vast country we see a more complicated experiment tried on vast proportions. A nation growing in numbers with unprecedented rapidity, by aid of recruiting in all quarters of the globe; a vast territory, representing wide varieties of soil and climate, to be occupied and brought under cultivation by this motley multitude; a fierce contest to be waged with

strange and untried climatic, industrial, and social conditions; the gift of freedom, personal, political, and pecuniary, to be borne by millions heretofore comparative strangers to these blessings: these barely hint at the transcendent difficulties encountered by the people of this country in planting and establishing permanently in full and typical health and vigor the great Anglo-Saxon race. Small wonder that during the experimental stages of this great work many curious effects, physical as well as social, have been developed, and that pessimists have found ample food for prophecies that this race would never become permanently established and productive under climatic conditions so different from those familiar to the chief components of our people.

"The so-called typical American certainly came to be something quite different from his British, Irish, or German ancestor, and his pale or sallow face, with tall, slender figure, full of the irritable restlessness bred of nervous dyspepsia, has been rendered sufficiently familiar to us; more so, in fact, in the hardly good-natured or veracious pages of travellers and novelists than in actual life.[1] Still there he has been, and there, in considerable numbers, he still is; and the interesting question arises whether his physical peculiarities are inseparably dependent upon our climatic conditions or upon other and transient influences. I confess my own observation has led me to the deliberate conclusion that it is to the latter almost exclusively that we are to attribute the results indicated. It is manifest that one must pay more attention to adapt himself suc-

[1] It is in fact to be noted that the contrasts used to heighten the effects of vivid pictures of the physical peculiarities of Americans have been drawn from classes abroad who are living widely different lives, and that a truer description of foreign populations would show how ridiculously unfair it is to adopt the burly, ruddy yeoman farmer of the fat midland counties of England as the type of the laboring classes (civic and rural) of Great Britain and the Continent.

cessfully to the extreme features of a great continental climate like ours than is required in the comparatively uniform climate of England or Ireland. But it is equally true that malaria, damp soil, and damp houses, due to defective drainage, are deadly but wholly avoidable foes to health. And it is no less certain that communities where from earliest boyhood the excessive use of tobacco in the most injurious forms is general, where bad whiskey is a staple drink between meals for the men, where for all alike, men, women and children, reeking strong tea and coffee in unlimited quantities are consumed at every meal, while beyond all this the reign of the frying-pan and the soda baking-powder and the patent purgative pill is universal and undisputed, cannot be fairly expected to perpetuate the finer types of manly and womanly physique; and I repeat my opinion that it is to these latter influences that we are chiefly to attribute most of the physical peculiarities commonly assigned to the agency of the American climate. I believe myself that, with due regard to the conditions under which work is prosecuted here, it will be found that there is no more favorable climate on earth, and I appeal to your observation of the generations now rising in support of the prediction that, with the correction of what may, and surely will, be corrected in our physical conditions and habits here, there will be a gradual advancement in our average physical vigor, until, even if a complete reversion to our ancestral type is not attained, there will be developed a new type, in no way inferior.

"The familiar instance of a man who at five and forty is at the head of several large businesses and is director in a dozen companies, and who finds himself breaking down with insomnia, headache, gastralgia, or some of the myriad forms of nerve suffering, will usually be found, on careful examination, to be due to the fact that he has combined with his incessant devotion to his work a disregard of the most common principles of dietetics and regimen, and frequently a reckless abuse of nerve stimulants or irritants which of themselves will often seem to have been sufficient to have induced the morbid condition present.

"The main object of one who starts upon a large career is naturally how to get the greatest amount of work out of himself consistent with the maintenance of health and the prolongation of life. If it were possible for all to appreciate correctly their physical condition and capacity at the outset, so that they could adapt their method of work to their physical requirements, we should see quite as much or more work done and infinitely fewer instances of physical disaster. But there are many elements in the question which most of us realize only after painful experience, though I look to the introduction of thorough instruction in hygiene and physiology in the schools and colleges for a vast improvement in this state of things.

"The velocity and range of a projectile are directly as the initial power and inversely as the mass to be moved, and this antagonism of force and weight enters into every physical problem. In its application to the human body it is a most pregnant truth. The mass to be moved before any effective forthputting work can be done is not merely the actual weight of the body, but embraces also the aggregate of the countless physiological and chemical acts ceaselessly performed within the frame. To adjust the actual weight of the body, therefore, to the physical powers of the individual, and to render these innumerable minute processes as easy and as complete as possible, is the aim of dietetics and regimen, and is the commonsense policy of every man who aspires to work to the best advantage. Even if all of us were typically healthy, normal beings this would be equally true, but the importance and necessity of this proper estimate of our individual capacity, and of the habits of life best fitted for each of us, is enormously increased by the fact that from inheritance most persons have a relative deficiency of some one or other organ as compared with the rest of their frame. The strength of a chain is tested by its weakest link. The enduring capacity of a man is measured by his weakest organ, only in our case we are able, by intelligence and self-restraint, to spare this weak spot, and thus to enable ourselves to tax our stronger parts their full capacity.

"It is true that the conditions of our higher forms of work in this country have been more difficult than in older and better organized communities, but a rather close study of the habits of professional and business men in different countries has convinced me that vastly too much importance has been attached to the notion of overwork in this country and vastly too little to the question of 'How to work,' or rather 'How to live while working.'"

Dr. Alfred Stillé, ever watchful of Pepper's activities, sent him this comment on this address:

"PHILADELPHIA, October 9, 1884.

"I have had the pleasure of receiving a copy of your address in Maryland, and I take the earliest opportunity of expressing my gratification with its rational and, at the same time, large practical views. They are so entirely in harmony with the spirit in which I have continually combated the system of drugging, whether pursued as a part of stupid routine or under the guidance of laboratory science, that I feel confident in your continuing the sound teaching which I have labored, however inadequately, to establish in the University. In more than one passage I seemed to have an echo (with improvements) of the methods I have been in the habit of insisting upon most strenuously."[1]

In April, 1884, he was chosen an honorary member of the Medical and Chirurgical Faculty of Maryland. In June he resigned the chair of Clinical Medicine at the University to which he had been elected in 1876, and on the same day[2] was elected Professor of the Theory and Practice of Clinical Medicine. By this appointment he succeeded to the chair which his father had vacated at death twenty years before.

[1] MS. letter.

[2] June 3, 1884. MS. letter of appointment, Jesse Y. Burk, Secretary.

During this intervening time the chair had been filled by the eminent Dr. Alfred Stillé, who now, at Dr. Pepper's appointment, became Professor Emeritus.[1] In October he resigned his position on the medical staff at Blockley.[2]

In 1885 appeared the first three volumes of his "System of Medicine," and the fourth and fifth volumes in the following year. This monumental work, entitled "The American System of Medicine," immediately sprang into fame. In its review of the first volume the *American Journal of the Medical Sciences*[3] observed:

"Taking the volume as a whole it is not too much to say that, with but one or two exceptions, the articles are all of first-class merit and comparable with the best productions of our foreign colleagues in similiar works."

The *London Lancet*, in its first notice,[4] declared that the work compared favorably with Reynolds's System of Medicine and Ziemssen's great Cyclopædia, and was superior to the English System of Medicine. In a second notice[5] the *Lancet* observed that the volumes added much to the medical literature of the century and reflected great credit upon the scholarship and practical acumen of the authors.

"The magnificent work has filled us with feelings of warm admiration," said the *Edinburgh Medical Journal*.[6] "We entirely agree with the editor in thinking that the time has arrived for presenting

[1] On this occasion Dr. Stillé sent a letter of congratulation to Dr. Pepper. The highly favorable tone of public sentiment on the appointment may be noted in the Philadelphia *North American*, June 5, 1884.

[2] October 10, 1884.

[3] October, 1885.

[4] September 26, 1885.

[5] October 3, 1885.

[6] February, 1886.

the whole field of medicine as taught and practised in America, and we heartily welcome this System of Practical Medicine, which gives such a complete picture of its present state among our kinsmen across the Atlantic. The work is adorned by a galaxy of famous names, many of them familiar to the European student as representative of the best work done in scientific medicine on the Western continent. The articles, therefore, are to be regarded as coming from the highest authors on the principal subjects on which they treat."

These encomiums were re-echoed in spirit through many letters received from eminent practitioners. "The Pepper System," as the work soon came to be called, surpassed anything which had preceded it in the English language.

In January, 1885, he read before the College of Physicians and Surgeons a paper on a "Case of Addison's Disease," which was reprinted in its Transactions.[1] There was a general opinion in Philadelphia at this time, and, indeed, all along the Atlantic coast, that, unless precautionary measures were taken, the cholera might gain a foothold in the country during the summer. Boards of Health in the Eastern cities gave the matter serious attention. The Trustees of the Provident Life and Trust Company, of Philadelphia, requested Dr. Pepper to prepare a paper suitable for general circulation on precautions against the disease. This he did, and it was published on the first day of May and distributed by that institution.[2] It was about this time that he was elected President of the American Climatological Society.

[1] January 7, 1885, Vol. VIII.

[2] Precautions suggested by Dr. Pepper, Provost and Professor of the Theory and Practice of Medicine in the University of Pennsylvania, in the Event of the Existence of Cholera as an Epidemic. 1885. 4 pp.

In 1886 he was elected consulting physician to St. Christopher's Hospital[1] and President of the American Clinical Association, and of the Pennsylvania Sanitary Convention.[2] In February he organized the Association of American Physicians.

His keen interest in pulmonary diseases may be explained in part. His father, two brothers, and a sister had died of phthisis, and he himself had three times had a narrow escape from it. He determined to investigate its nature and distribution, and wrote his now celebrated contribution on the subject, "The Climatological Study of Phthisis in Pennsylvania."[3] It represents a vast amount of patient research, and was recognized at once as a contribution to science. The interest it provoked is illustrated by several letters he received.

"WALLINGFORD, PA.

"DEAR PEPPER:

"It is very late at night, but I cannot lay me down to sleep without thanking you warmly for sending me this copy of your Climatological Study.

"It is not necessary to be a doctor in order to appreciate its high medical value—the subject comes home to every 'breather' in the world, whether he lives in this State or not. And any layman will be lost in admiration over the exhaustive research and the methodical clearness which you have shown throughout. I do sincerely congratulate you on the successful completion of this great task. It cannot but bring you fame if you have not reached the saturation point therein long ago.

"Always faithfully yours,

"HORACE HOWARD FURNESS.[4]

"20 October, 1887."

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[1] February 8, 1886. [2] May, 1886.

[3] New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1887. pp. 77.

[4] MS.

The Medical Classic observed editorially:

"The disease of consumption, however viewed, is always of public interest. Twenty years ago no one knew of the association between pulmonary consumption and the damp subsoil; but statistics have fully proved the connection. In fifteen English towns recently recorded by Dr. Simon the deaths from consumption fell immediately when the subsoil was dried through a system of drainage. In Salisbury the deaths from consumption fell 49 per cent., in Ely, 47 per cent., and Merthyr Tydvil, which gained least, had its death-rate from consumption lowered 11 per cent. From statistics we know that high mortality from consumption in the British army, and especially in the Guards, is due to confined air—a mortality which has been so affected by better ventilation of barracks that the consumptive death-rate fell in the Guards from 125 in 10,000 in the year 1858 to 16.9 in the year 1875; that is to say, the deaths from consumption alone in the Guards in 1875 was less than a seventh of the number of 1858.

"The researches of Dr. Bowditch, of Massachusetts, and Dr. Buchanan, of England, also strongly confirm that the comparative degree of wetness in the soil is a fair measure of the proportion of consumption among the residents thereon. Dr. Pepper, of Philadelphia, attempted an investigation of the distribution of the same disease for the State of Pennsylvania and presented his data and certain conclusions to the Climatological Association as a contribution to the climatological study of the disease. His inquiries were sent to 650 of the 5,000 physicians distributed through sixty-seven counties, and replies were received from 120 correspondents in forty-seven counties. The general deductions from the answers are that the localities having high mortality from consumption are those of little elevation and large annual rainfall, and that the hemlock regions, which correspond quite closely with the favorable climatic regions, have the greatest immunity. A very small proportion of the correspondents recognize the influence of special local causes for this disease, such as the greater dampness of one house than

another. The hereditary nature of the disease is almost unanimously admitted, while its infectious quality is receiving more general recognition. In race the negroes seem the most liable and the Jews the most exempt, but there are many other factors than those of nationality to be taken into account. Dr. Pepper regards his paper 'as the first crude and imperfect result of an investigation which he hopes to be able to continue to a much greater degree of completeness.' The address (for which the author deserves the highest commendation) is accompanied with elaborate maps, charts, and tables."

From his friend Dr. Bowditch, of Boston, came this letter:

"Boston, February 22, 1887.

"I have read with pleasure and profit your paper on the prevalence of consumption in Pennsylvania.

"I infer from your remarks (p. 16) that you do not think dampness of the soil 'is the main cause of consumption' in your State. I think we agree on this point, although some may think otherwise. I never claimed that it—soil moisture—was the '*main cause*,' but only one important cause of consumption in Massachusetts.

"You will remember that when I made inquiries I and every one else believed that consumption was everywhere *equally* and quite prevalent in New England, but that no special locality was more liable to it than another. Facts sent by physicians, my correspondents, convinced me that I was wrong and that dampness of the soil around or under the house was in Massachusetts an important cause of its greater prevalence in some spots than in others.

"Now, though your figures are not so numerous as mine, it seems to me *they point to the same inference*. On page 16 you state that but seven persons admit certain localities 'have any such peculiarities,' *i.e.*, of greater moisture, but these speak of damp yards, bad sewerage, and low ground by the river-side. In other words, small and imperfect as your returns are on this point, they sustain my result. If hereafter you should find a consumptive patient

living in a house with a damp cellar or surroundings which give dampness necessarily to the house, your own statistics as well as mine and Dr. Buchanan's should persuade you to require a removal from the house as the first step towards a cure. For years this has been my rule, and I have sometimes declined to prescribe any medicine unless removal were promised. When for sundry important reasons a person could not move, I have warned relatives and patient of the danger incurred. I have felt so strongly on this subject that, although I have claimed (Hygiene in America, p. 119) that it is a 'cosmic' law, nevertheless I wanted to have the question decided on a broader basis by an international commission to be appointed by an international congress.

"Having been invited to prepare a paper on hygiene for the international congress that is to meet at Vienna next autumn, I took the liberty to send my Massachusetts address to each one of the committee and to ask that such a commission should be appointed; the reply was 'Come yourself and present a paper and it will be agreeable to the committee, but no subject can be brought up unless there is some one to sustain it.' I replied that my age and health would prevent my visiting Vienna again.

"My dear Doctor, why cannot you go, after preparing a paper founded on your own and Buchanan's and mine? I wish you would think of this, what may seem to you, Utopian plan. But it is not so, and if carried out thoroughly and ably as you could do it, you will learn many things and stand before the profession of the world as one able and willing to work for the common good and bring forth grand results. I send by this mail a programme or rather an account of what has been done by the committee and also an analysis of it as seen in the *Journal of Hygiene*. Please return them to me after examination.

"Again thanking you for your labors for the whole of us, and your courtesy to me, I remain,

"Sincerely yours,

"HENRY I. BOWDITCH."

In June appeared the report of the Seybert Commission, of which he was chairman.[1]

Lord Playfair, commenting on both the Seybert report and the paper on consumption, wrote:

"ATLANTIC COTTAGE, NAHANT, 23d September, 1887.

"I duly received the book and pamphlet which you sent to me. The report of the Seybert Commission is both instructive and amusing. For some time I diligently attended seances, but I never saw anything that was not beneath contempt. If you have any ascension of floating manifestations, it might be useful to have a mixture of chlorate of potash and sugar, which by touching with a drop of sulphuric acid will give a splendid light to counteract the deeds of darkness.

"Your paper on consumption is very interesting, and lays the basis of a further useful inquiry. As a former commissioner of public health, I used to connect phthisis with a double condition—dampness and want of ventilation. I recollect going through the R. C. College at Maynooth. For some reason the principal rejected my repeated request to see the hospital. I made a bold venture and said, 'Of course I know your difficulties here—consumption is your great enemy.' He admitted that it was so, and asked my reason for arriving at that conclusion. I told him that it was because they had clay floors for their lecture rooms and such a strictly gothic building that they could only open a few panes for ventilation. These two conditions are very common factors in England. Of course good ventilation lessens the evil of the second factor, dampness. I am much obliged to you for this.

"Yours sincerely,

"LYON PLAYFAIR."[2]

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[1] See the Preliminary Report of the Commission to the Trustees of the University in the Annual Report of the Provost for the year ending October 1, 1881, App. IV.

[2] MS. letter.

The substance of this work on phthisis he delivered as the President's Address at the third annual meeting of the American Climatological Association, held at Philadelphia on May 10 and 11, 1886.

A glimpse of Dr. Pepper as a teacher of medicine is afforded by the home letter of a medical student, written about this time:

"PHILADELPHIA, October 16, 1886.

"* * * I am in the midst of a terrible amount of work and have not been in bed before one o'clock any night this week. I leave the dissecting room at ten P.M., then study for three hours and go to bed, to get up at eight A.M. and go to the lecture at nine. I find I can do more work at night than during the day. I am taking physiological lectures in shorthand and writing them out in a book afterward. I am also taking Pepper's lectures, but I do not find time to write them out. I wish very often that you could hear him, it is such a treat; a regular feast; you would enjoy him very much. His clinical lectures are as interesting, methodical, and thorough as if committed to memory beforehand. He lectures without a note of any kind and uses the most beautiful and impressive English. He is simply grand. At his clinic to-day he had a case of epilepsy. After a careful study of it he advised trephining, which was done by Ashhurst the next hour."[1]

After 1886 he made fewer contributions to current medical literature. His increasing practice and the multifarious interests in which he was engaged left no time for such work. In 1887 he made but two contributions to the medical journals, one a case of "Duodenal Ulcer," which appeared in the *Journal of the Medical Sciences;* the other, on "Diseases of the Cæcal Region," published in the Transactions of the Philadelphia County Medical Society.

[1] MS. letter. The student's home was in Indiana.

A glance at his activities during the years 1881–1887, briefly recorded in this chapter, cannot fail to suggest his extraordinary capacity for work. It must be remembered that the exacting duties of his profession were performed amidst his equally exacting duties as Provost of the University and as a citizen and man of affairs. Great as was his professional work during these years, it became greater and more exacting during the last ten years of his life.

V

PHYSICIAN AND WRITER

1887–1898

DR. PEPPER was not a specialist in the practice of medicine: he was a general practitioner. In estimating his place in his profession, it should be remembered that the tendency in medical science, since 1850, has been towards specialization, at least in large cities and towns. It is the country doctor who is the general practitioner, "the all-round physician," as a familiar provincialism expresses it. Dr. Pepper's practice was extraordinary in its volume, in its geographical distribution, and in its returns. It is difficult to measure a physician by any one test, indeed it is quite unfair; yet there are well-known marks which distinguish the great physician. Dr. Pepper possessed all of these. His case-books, ponderous folios of about a thousand pages each, increased in number as the years passed far out of proportion to his physical strength. Patients came to him from all parts of America, north and south, and occasionally from Europe. Yet not all his cases are reported in his books. His consulting practice was very great, and to respond to its demands was at times beyond his power. His office was crowded with patients daily, and his medical correspondence was quite sufficient to fill the time of his secretary. It must be remembered, too, that his professional work was never subordinated to any other of the many pressing interests in which he was concerned. He remained to the end essentially the great

physician. As the years fled by he yearned for the repose which would permit him to pursue scientific investigation, for which by nature he was peculiarly well fitted. His wonderful power of analysis was the secret of his immense success in life. His capacity to compare, to distinguish, to define, was in no sense a matter of acquisition; it was his birthright. The scientific habit which he followed in investigating an obscure medical case stood him in equal value when examining a problem in political economy or in university administration. It is so unusual for a great medical man to be active in several departments of human affairs that we are apt to forget, in writing of William Pepper the physician, that he at the same time was equally active as an educator and as a public-spirited citizen.

In May, 1888, he delivered an address before the Medical Association at Cincinnati, on "New Methods of Diagnosis in Gastric Diseases;" and in June an address on "Albuminosis" before the State Medical Society of Pennsylvania which met that year in Philadelphia. In the September number of the *University Medical Magazine* there appeared a brief paper by him on "Cardiocentesis." His clinical lectures, which he was delivering twice a week, were reported in the *Medical Bulletin*, but were now seldom reprinted by him in pamphlet form, as they had been in earlier years. An interesting *symposium* in which he participated occurred in December, 1887, and was reported in the Transactions of the Philadelphia County Medical Society.[1]

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[1] Pericæcal Inflammation: Pathology, by John M. Musser, M.D.; Diagnosis, by William Pepper, M.D.; Treatment, by Thomas G. Morton, M.D. Reprinted from the Transactions of

In January, 1888, he received notice of his election as consulting physician of the Northern Dispensary of Philadelphia, an institution founded in 1816 for the medical relief of the poor.[1] Elections of this kind come to all eminent physicians, for the poor are always with us. Dr. Pepper's gratuitous practice was very great; indeed, it was quite enough to keep one man busy. He was never known to decline attention to the poor, and on many occasions it was observed that he took extraordinary care to minister to charity patients.

During the summer of 1888 his name had prominence among the people because of his association in the case of General Sheridan. The general was taken seriously ill early in the season, and Dr. Pepper was called in as consulting physician. His own memoranda of the case are fragmentary, but interesting:

"July 5.

"Up at 6.00 A.M.—bath—dress—breakfast—in office at seven —consultation in office continuously until 4.30 P.M., with exception of a committee from Johns Hopkins on organization of Hospital from 11.00 to 12.00 and meeting of the Board of Trustees from 12.00 to 1.30—train to Sea Girt 5.00 P.M. Drove to Asbury Park to meet Dr. Wilder in the case of Hon. H. B. Denman at 9.00 P.M. (parancentesis abdomini)—found telegram calling me to see General Sheridan, then at Delaware Breakwater on a man-of-war, *Swatara*. Wired to have special train sent from Philadelphia to Asbury at 11, and wired to have tender at Cape May, twelve miles across the bay to Delaware Breakwater, at 3.00 A.M.

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the Philadelphia County Medical Society, December 14, 1887. Philadelphia: William J. Dornan, Printer. 1888. 19 pp.

[1] MS. letter from John L. Davis, Secretary, to Dr. Pepper, January 24, 1888.

Started from Asbury at 11.10, reached Camden 1.30, then to Cape May, ninety miles, 3.30—drove three miles out to Cape May Point at 4.00 A.M.—no boat—misunderstanding—back to Cape May—awakened telegraph operator, wired via Philadelphia to send tender at once—dress—breakfast—drove out again, tender there at 6—reached steamer at 7.15—consultation—Sheridan much confused in mind, but recognized me—showed pleasure—left at 8.30—Cape May 9.45, special train off at 10.00, in Philadelphia at 12.30. Consultation until 2.00 P.M., train to New York and 6.30 to Westport—arrived 4.00 A.M., and drove home by East Hill, thirty miles."

General Sheridan was removed to his home in Washington, and was visited regularly by Dr. Pepper. The Pennsylvania Railroad during this time made up a "special" for him, consisting of a common travelling coach, which was weighed down at each end with piles of steel rails, thus insuring steadiness. Dr. Pepper was accustomed to board the car at Broad Street Station about eleven o'clock in the evening; the road was cleared to Washington and in four hours he was at the bedside of his patient. After the consultation he was brought back in the same train, arriving about eight o'clock in the morning in time to take up the duties of the day.

Of his distinguished patient he made the following memoranda:

"General Philip H. Sheridan was the *beau ideal* of a cavalry leader. He never commanded a large army, but there is little doubt that he would have succeeded. He had the qualities which enable a man to lead soldiers to the cannon's mouth, an element incalculable—majestic heroism to produce apparently impossible results. His illness was not wanting in dramatic interest. He lived well, ate and drank freely, took little exercise; had mitral lesion. He was

warned, but paid no heed, and finally in May, 1888, went West to inspect army posts—travelled six or seven nights—tramped about all day—went to public dinners, breakfasts—returned to Washington with broken constitution and soon had symptoms of heart failure. I was summoned to consult with his four army doctors after an attack of pulmo-embolism, almost fatal. He lived for three months—had frequent alarming spells, finally died suddenly. The popular interest in his case was extraordinary—the press devoted much space—reporters haunted the house; here, as in similar cases it often occurs, the medical bulletins had to be cautiously worded. A bill was introduced in Congress to revive the grade of General with the view of his being elevated to it. Opposition existed on the part of some Southern members, but official statement of his desperate condition averted it, and the bill was passed under suspension of the rules. It was carried instantly to the President, who signed it and at once sent a message to the Senate appointing Sheridan to the office. It was confirmed and the commission reached Sheridan that evening, and he issued his first orders."

In September Colonel Michael V. Sheridan, the general's brother, and an executor of his estate, sent the following letter to Dr. Pepper:

"MOQUITT, MASS., September 28, 1888.

"By authority of the executors of the estate of the late General Sheridan, I write to ask if you will please send me your bill for professional services while attending General Sheridan as consulting physician at various times between the middle of May and August 5, 1888."[1]

Dr. Pepper had already decided on his course, and in following it observed all his customary grace and delicacy in treating a difficult subject. He drafted the following reply

[1] MS. letter.

to Colonel Sheridan's letter and submitted it to him before it was formally sent:

"I am in receipt of your note of September 28th, to forward you my account for professional services rendered in consultation to the late General Sheridan. You must permit me to say that I desire these services to be regarded only as an expression of that deep and lasting obligation which I, in common with all others, owed to him. In view of the extremely limited pecuniary resources of his family, it would be impossible to render an account for these services such as would be proper under other circumstances.

"Yours truly,

"WILLIAM PEPPER."[1]

"My dear Dr. Pepper," wrote Colonel Sheridan in reply,[2] "I thank you from the depths of my heart, not only for this kind act towards Mrs. Sheridan and her children, but also for the devotion you exhibited towards my brother during his lifetime, and your untiring efforts to keep him with us. Never was any man more skilfully treated than General Sheridan by you and all his physicians, and though no human agency could save him, his family have the comfort of knowing that no means within the possibilities of science were left untried."[3]

The press, far and wide, commented on Dr. Pepper's conduct.[4] One paper recited the history of the case, and observed that Dr. Pepper's letter was "worthy of publication in every paper in the United States." Another declared that

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[1] MS. letter to Colonel Michael Sheridan, September 28 (?), 1888. It was given to the public October 3, and bears that date.

[2] MS. letter. [3] MS. letter.

[4] Notably the Western papers, and especially those of General Sheridan's native State.

the gratitude of every loyal soldier would hold Dr. Pepper in remembrance.

A few days after the publication of Dr. Pepper's letter, an incident occurred in New York which illustrates the wide reputation and esteem in which he was held by the public at this time. His cousin, Mr. William Platt Pepper, of Philadelphia, was obliged to return to Philadelphia from Long Island to attend to some business matters of importance. On leaving the Long Island depot in New York he took a cab for Desbrosses Street ferry. It was the first Monday in September, and happened to be the first Labor Day. When he reached Union Square he found Broadway blocked to all ordinary traffic by a large parade. Calling a policeman to the cab window Mr. Pepper asked him if it was not possible for him to be allowed to pass through, as he was anxious to reach his destination. The reply was that only the horse-cars were allowed to pass, and then at every half hour; that the parade had just begun and would be upward of four hours in passing. Mr. Pepper looked somewhat aghast at this prospect, but said nothing. The policeman asked him his name, and Mr. Pepper replied that as he was not a New York man that would be of no use to him; however, his name was Pepper and he lived in Philadelphia. The officer immediately reported the case to the Chief of Police, who promptly came to the cab, and, touching his hat, said: "Go right through, Doctor," and stopped the parade for the moment to allow the cab to pass.

The medical publications for the year 1889 were an article on "Functional Disorders of the Stomach," for Keating's "Cyclopædia of the Diseases of Children;" on "Duodenal and Gastric Ulcers," originally a clinical lecture at the University Hospital, which appeared in the *Journal of the Amer-*

ican Medical Association for May;[1] and two others reprinted, —one on "Multiple Cardiac Lesion,"[2] the other "A few Practical Remarks on Continued Slight Fever."[3] In June he delivered an address before the American Medical Association at its meeting in Newport, Rhode Island.[4] He chose as his theme Dr. Benjamin Rush, in whom he recognized the incarnation of a kindred spirit.[5]

This address was based upon a thorough study of material on Dr. Rush, of which there is a great mass in the Philadelphia Library, the magnificent Ridgway Branch of which is Rush's mausoleum. Considering the enormous pressure under which Dr. Pepper always worked, the address is a marvel in style, scope, and effectiveness. It remains the best account of the condition of medicine in America at the time of the Revolution and thus possesses historical value. As usual with his occasional addresses, it attracted wide atten-

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[1] May 25, 1889, and reprinted in pamphlet form. Duodenal and Gastric Ulcers, by William Pepper, M.D., LL.D., Provost and Professor of the Theory and Practice of Medicine, University of Pennsylvania. Reprinted from the *Journal of the American Medical Association*, May 25, 1889. Chicago: Printed at the office of the Association. 1889. 16 pp.

[2] A clinical lecture, *University Medical Magazine*, September, 1889.

[3] Id., December, 1889. [4] June 26, 1889.

[5] Benjamin Rush, by William Pepper, M.D., LL.D., Provost and Professor of the Theory and Practice of Medicine in the University of Pennsylvania; an Address delivered before the American Medical Association at its annual meeting in Newport, Rhode Island, June, 1889. Reprinted from the *Journal of the American Medical Association*, April 26, 1889. Chicago: Printed at the office of the Association. 1890. 24 pp.

tion and brought him many letters of congratulation. Of personal interest was a letter from the grandson of Dr. Rush, appreciative of the address.[1]

In January, 1890, he delivered before the New York Pathological Society the Middleton-Goldsmith lectures, taking for his subject "Hepatic Fever." From a literary point these rank among the best of his medical lectures.[2] His clinical lectures on "Locomotor Ataxia" appeared in the *Philadelphia Medical Times* in March.[3] In April, before the New York Academy of Medicine, he delivered an address on the "Frequency and Character of the Pneumonia of 1890."[4] In May, at Washington, D. C., before the Association of American Physicians, of which he was President, he read a paper, the joint work of himself and Dr. J. P. Crozer Griffith, on "Aneurism of the Aorta Rupturing into the Superior Vena Cava."[5]

To the world he seemed the embodiment of unlimited energy, but those who knew him intimately were aware of the risks he was taking in his prodigious activity. The following letter, with its transcript of Dr. Pepper's endorsement, is pertinent at this time:

"WALLINGFORD.

"DEAR PEPPER:

"I have been worried by what my boy and young Lieber have told me about your stopping 't'other day' in the middle of a sen-

[1] Richard Henry Rush to Dr. Pepper, June 28, 1880. MS.

[2] January 15, 1890. They were published in pamphlet form.

[3] March, 1890.

[4] April 17, 1890. Reprinted from the *Medical News*, July 5, 1890. 16 pp.

[5] May, 1890. Reprinted from the *American Journal of the Medical Sciences*, October, 1890. 31 pp.

tence at your clinic, and after a pause calling for a glass of water. It worried them and all their class, and, as I have said, it has much worried me.

"Do, do, do take care!

"Be far more vigilant for yourself than for any of your patients; there is no life entrusted to you as valuable as your own.

"All things have a beginning, and you, of all men, know how very small may be the beginning of that which may end most lamentably.

"Be warned! 'Tis far better to cut off some of your work voluntarily than to have it all cut off perforce.

"Always faithfully yours,

"HORACE HOWARD FURNESS.[1]

"15 October, '90."

On the back of this note Dr. Pepper wrote:

"At the close of my clinical lecture I had one of those funny little contractions of the throat caused by undue use of the voice, which made me stop for a moment, then I finished my sentence. *Voilà tout.*"

Now, in truth, Dr. Pepper was beginning to break down; but if he knew it, he gave his thought no tongue.

In September, 1891, the Association of American Physicians held its sixth annual session in Washington, D. C. Dr. Pepper's address before it as its President contains the following noble tribute to Joseph Leidy:

"In the death of Joseph Leidy, which occurred on April 30, 1890, at the age of sixty-eight years, the medical profession in America lost its most loved and honored member, and American science its most illustrious representative. It makes a difference to the world when such a man passes away. At his birth Nature

[1] MS. letter.

gave him her accolade, and all his life long he was loyal to the holy quest of truth, which is the vow imposed on those whom she invests as her chosen knights. Who can say how much of the marvellous and inexhaustible knowledge of Nature this great man possessed came from the singleness of his life and the purity of his heart? Who can say how many of the miserable shortcomings we all exhibit, even in our best work, spring from the selfishness and the prejudice we allow to mix with it? Leidy never had a theory to support or a purpose to serve. The all-sufficing motive of his life was to learn the truth of Nature and to help others to learn it also. To the last he kept the humility and the simplicity of a little child. No delight could surpass what he felt when new facts were disclosed to him, unless it were that with which he would share with others all he knew. He made great discoveries in various fields of scientific research; but he never seemed to feel any credit was due to him. It merely was that he had chanced first to see that particular fact. It was no achievement of his. Nature had given him one more little glimpse of her truth. He looked at all natural things with the same fresh, clear-eyed directness. It did not matter by whom, or under what names, or in what surroundings an object was brought before him; he simply saw the thing itself. In this way he detected blunders innumerable and became a general referee to whom all sorts of supposed remarkable discoveries were submitted. The certainty with which he could detect the real nature of the object and the simple, genial way in which he would explain it made irritation impossible. All knew he would treat an inaccurate observation of his own in the same kindly but unsparing fashion.

"If only the facts were discovered, it mattered not to him by whom the discovery was made; and windy battles over claims of priority or selfish struggles to pre-empt fields of investigation were alike impossible to him. More than once he turned aside from lines of research in which he was the pioneer, and where brilliant discoveries were in sight, as soon as he found there were others who

longed to win distinction in the same field. I could never see that he enjoyed their triumphs any less than if he himself had won them.

"Incapable himself of jealousy or untruth or disloyalty, he seemed also incapable of thinking evil of others. In all matters of business he would have been readily imposed upon, and his confidence was freely bestowed on all who sought it. But in the estimation of the scientific value of a man's work he was in many lines of research the very highest and the most candid authority.

"Of course he had no enemies. All were united in respect and affection for him. But only those who lived in close and frequent intercourse with him can tell what elevating and humanizing influences this man of science diffused around him. It helped you to be truthful, simple, and liberal merely to meet him and talk with him. I think few men have been more loved by men than he was; and I know not if there be a higher tribute than this to a man's nature. I shall not attempt to tell what Leidy achieved in many branches of science. The mere fact that his scientific contributions numbered fully eight hundred conveys little idea of the range of subjects they covered; the epoch-making character many of them possessed; or the enormous amount of patient labor bestowed on the thousands of exquisite illustrations they contained. I cannot tell you what he was to his colleagues or to his students in the University of Pennsylvania, where for thirty-eight years he filled the Chair of Anatomy. I feel sure that every colleague in the faculty and every student in the college during that long time was influenced for good by contact with this pure and lovable man. For to Leidy the ever-growing fulness of knowledge brought increasing humility and wonder at the boundless mystery of Nature. And as the close of a profound study of one after another field of natural history added to his sense of the inadequacy of our powers to cope with the problems of creation and life, his feeling of the necessity of a God of Nature strengthened and deepened. Only a few days before his death, as I stood by his bedside, he chanced to notice the flowered pattern of the carpet on the chamber floor, and

said: 'How can they work flowers on a carpet! We love flowers! No one would tread on flowers!' And with his heart full of such gentle thoughts he lapsed into peaceful unconsciousness—like a tired child falling asleep in the bosom of Nature he had loved so long and so well."[1]

It is not strange that Dr. Pepper, who had known Leidy all his life, had been a student under him in the medical school and had been associated with him in academic relations many years, ever finding him willing to co-operate in every effort towards reform and improvement, should have uttered these words.

The American Medical Association, in whose origin and growth Dr. Pepper had taken a prominent part, had strengthened with the years, and he with others was planning its larger usefulness. True to his ruling principle of concentrating all efforts, he strenuously and successfully labored to bring the Association into union with analogous bodies, a service he could more easily perform as Chairman of the Executive Committee. The noble aims which he pursued inspired his associates, and the plan of action which he outlined at the September meeting of the Executive Committee met with general approval among the physicians and surgeons of the country.

In October came a crowning honor of medical preferment—his unanimous election as President of the Pan-

[1] Address of the President of the Association of American Physicians, by William Pepper, M.D., LL.D, Provost and Professor of the Theory and Practice of Medicine, University of Pennsylvania, September 22, 1891. Reprinted from the *University Medical Magazine*, October, 1891. 4 pp.

American Medical Congress, to be held in the city of Washington, in October, 1893.[1]

In January, 1892, occurred the death of his lifelong friend, Dr. Bowditch, Dean of the Harvard Medical School. Dr. Pepper's letter to Dr. Alfred Stillé, announcing the loss, provoked a reply which is of interest as a summary of important incidents in the history of American medicine, and particularly because of its reference to that group of young Americans to which the elder Pepper and Oliver Wendell Holmes belonged when they studied together in Paris in the early part of the century.

"January 27, 1892.

"I read with great interest your note to me on the death of Dr. Bowditch. Your estimate of his character corresponds in every respect with my own. Indeed, it seems to me that no one could completely misread his transparent simplicity, or fail to respect his views even when not agreeing with him. Of late years I had only rare occasions to communicate with him even by letter, and I do not think I have seen him since the Centennial year, when he and his son Vincent were my guests. In a recent letter, in response to my estimate of his father, Vincent says: 'His nature was a very rare one, the combination of wonderful sweetness with great thought of purpose and determination to fight for the right.' He was singular in this that the positiveness of his opinions and the earnestness of their expression seem never to have brought him into collision with his opponents, or to have engendered their enmity.

"Bowditch, James Jackson, Holmes, and Fisher were the very first to set the example to American students of perfecting their medical education in Paris, and so became the foster-parents of Gerhard, Pennock, Swett, Poiner, the elder Pepper, and Clark,

[1] MS. letter from Charles A. L. Reed, M.D., Chairman of Committee on Permanent Organization of the Inter-Continental American Medical Congress, October 20, 1891.

who with them were apostles of the school of Louis in this country, and to this day 'The Medical Society of Observation,' founded by Bowditch in Boston, on the pattern of Louis, still preserves the name of the method of the illustrious master. All of Bowditch's work bears the marks of his Parisian training.

"To me, as an almost lifelong friend of his, your words of eulogy on his character and career are very grateful.

"Yours very sincerely,

"ALFRED STILLÉ."[1]

At the invitation of Charles Kendall Adams, LL.D.,[2] editor in chief of Johnson's Revised Cyclopædia, Dr. Pepper, in January, 1892, accepted the position of editor of the Department of Medicine, Surgery, and Collateral Science. His only medical contribution during the year was an article, originally a clinical lecture, which appeared in the *International Medical Magazine* for February.[3]

The leading physicians of the world had planned for a meeting of the eleventh International Medical Congress at Rome, in 1893. Dr. Pepper was a member of the National Committee of North America.[4] In December he received notice of his unanimous election as Chairman of the Executive Committee of the Third Congress of American Physicians and Surgeons.[5]

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[1] MS. letter. [2] MS. letter to Dr. Pepper, January 19, 1892.

[3] Abscess of the Posterior Mediastinum, with Cyanosis and Subcutaneous Emphysema; Venesection; Recovery by Discharge through the Lung. Clinical lecture delivered at the University Hospital by William Pepper, M.D., Provost and Professor of the Theory and Practice of Medicine in the University of Pennsylvania; Reprint.

[4] MS. letter from Professor E. Maraglino, M.D., Secretary-General, Genoa, October 14, 1892.

[5] MS. letter from N. M. Shaffer, Secretary, December 28, 1892.

The first volume of his "Text-Book of Medicine by American Teachers" appeared in 1893. Like the "System of Medicine," it was a composite treatise, and was eagerly received by students and physicians. The new volume pleased even the critics, as the reports in July showed. "It is a great success in England and on the Continent as well as here," wrote Dr. Pepper to a friend, "and the second volume, which goes to the printer in September, must be better."[1]

His clinical lectures were reported as usual, and one, on "Some Unusual Types of Pneumonia," was reprinted in April from the *University Medical Magazine.*

In September the first Pan-American Medical Congress assembled in Washington, and he delivered the presidential address. He had prepared it with great care. It surpasses most of his public utterances in style and learning and remains his finest and most complete public utterance.[2]

"I have just finished reading, in the *New York Medical Journal*, your most interesting address," wrote Dr. Lewis A. Sayre, of New York, "before the Pan-American Medical Congress, and as an American physician I wish to return you my most sincere thanks for this most able and scholarly production. It will do more to establish the reputation for American medical science throughout the world than any paper yet produced by any member of our pro-

[1] MS. letter July 25, 1893.

[2] An Address before the First Pan-American Medical Congress, September 6, 1893, in the City of Washington, D. C., by the President of the Congress, William Pepper, M.D., LL.D., Provost and Professor of the Theory and Practice of Medicine in the University of Pennsylvania. Philadelphia: Allen, Lane & Scott's Printing House, 229, 231, 233 South Fifth Street. 1893. 34 pp.

fession, and the whole profession owe you a debt of gratitude for it. If no other good was done, your address alone will amply compensate for all the time and labor of calling the Congress together." [1]

"I have just read your Pan-American address," wrote the Bishop of Albany, a very dear friend, the Right Reverend William Croswell Doane, "with very much interest and admiration. It is running over with new thoughts freshly put and with facts which are new to me; and it is a pleasure to find a busy man putting professional subjects in so large a way. Thank you very much for sending it to me." [2]

"I have read it with much interest," wrote the venerable Dr. Alfred Stillé; "there can be no doubt that all convictions of educated and honest men tend to hasten the approach of that 'brotherhood of man' about which we hear so much more than we see in the conduct of affairs." [3]

The Medical Congress was a great success. Delegates from every American country were present and were entertained in sumptuous style. The programme of the Congress was arranged almost to the minutest detail by Dr. Pepper. The whole affair, however, was full of petty and annoying incidents. Dr. Pepper spent the summer at Northeast Harbor, Maine, and there received innumerable letters and dispatches relating to the Congress. A part of the entertainment of the delegates, as planned, consisted in an observation excursion to Philadelphia, New York, and possibly to Boston. This meant special arrangements with several railroad companies for trains, fare, and service. As usual, there were members of the committee who insisted on ridiculous luxu-

[1] MS. letter September 10, 1893.
[2] MS. letter September 29, 1893.
[3] MS. letter October 25, 1893.

ries for which they would not have to pay, but the expense of which must come out of a fund subscribed by the projectors of the Congress, chief of whom was Dr. Pepper. Writing of the Congress to a friend who had helped him to secure transportation for the members, he says:

"The trunk-line committee granted us (of course to you and me really) one fare and one-third for the round trip. We asked for one fare, but this is good. Now if the drivellers in the Congress will vote instead of talk and get through next week, there will be a revival of confidence and of good cheer almost at once; then the Pan-American Medical Congress may *pan out* a tolerable sort of success. Now it bids fair to be like a great dinner-table spread for twenty guests, five in a corner of it appalled by the preparation for a large company. There should be three thousand, or at least two thousand, to carry out the *menu* provided. I doubt that seven hundred and fifty will materialize; still it may do some good." [1]

His forebodings, fortunately, were not realized; and to the same friend, then at the Columbian Exposition, Chicago, he wrote a few days later.

"Washington, September 4, 1893.

"Heaven defend us! I am surrounded from dawn to dawn. It will be a success; the right people have come. I may be able to do something to influence the South American commissioners at Chicago through the people here from these countries. [This in reference to the Archæological Museum in Philadelphia and the exhibits at the Columbian Exposition, which he hoped to secure for it.] The Committee of Arrangements here has contracted to pay nine thousand dollars for a train!!! Forty-seven Mexicans are here; some really scientific and important men. Many are accompanied by their wives and daughters. I have promised to go to each South American country to spend at least six months. They published

[1] MS. letter.

my picture, and, they tell me, the *Post* states that I look very much like a bishop. We go to Philadelphia, where I will give all the foreign delegates a big time at the University. It may do some good." [1]

"September 5.

"Please get hold of Professor Dr. Finckler, of Bonn. His headquarters are at the German Commission. He is officially appointed to report on educational matters. He was to be here, and I had counted largely upon having him at the University; but he must have all data upon which to base a good report of us: my last Provost report, the Franklin Memorial Report, the judges' award, etc. My special reason [and it was also one of the great reasons why he was anxious to bring the delegates of the Congress to the University] is that on account of the villainous diploma selling formerly done in Philadelphia by that old rascal, Buchanan, Philadelphia diplomas (and indeed all American medical diplomas, but especially those of the University of Pennsylvania) are sadly discredited in the eyes of the Continentals; that must be set right." [2]

"September 5.

"Got to bed at 3.30; dinner of medical editors; great fun. But what animals we men are! This is about what I shall say [encloses galley print of his address before the Congress], but it is deadly dull stuff." [3]

"September 6.

"Immense success here. The only thing that gratifies me is that a really useful mechanism has been created." [4]

As all roads lead to Rome, so all of Dr. Pepper's activities and aspirations led to the University. The Pan-American Medical Congress and the learned commissioner who reported the educational institutions in America were alike

[1] MS. letter. [2] MS. letter. [3] MS. letter. [4] MS. letter.

enlisted to make clear to the world that a public abuse, at one time notorious in Philadelphia, the selling of medical diplomas "by that old rascal, Buchanan," in no way involved the University of Pennsylvania. The disgrace had been very keenly felt by medical men in the city, and they owe Dr. Pepper a debt of gratitude that he finally removed this odium and set the medical institutions of the city right before the world.

Dr. Pepper's amusing account of the Congress only hints at the remarkable reception which it gave him. It was a representative body; many of the most distinguished physicians and surgeons of North and of South America were present, and all united in honoring him. He now began to realize the extent of his reputation as a professional man. His address as President was written in hours of weariness and overwork. It awakens no suggestion, however, of haste, and it was received with loud acclaim. Undoubtedly it is the most notable of his many medical addresses. Nowhere else will there be found an equally comprehensive yet brief history of medicine in the Western World. And towering above the address, excellent as it was, stood Dr. Pepper's charming personality. An address of a lower order would have fallen from his lips as an eloquent and pleasing production. The manner of the man was particularly charming to the delegates from the Latin-American countries. The cold manners of most northern men are repellent to our southern friends. Dr. Pepper combined the strength and vigor of the Anglo-Saxon with the suavity and grace of the Latin-American. The combination was irresistible as it was extraordinary. Unquestionably it was one of the secrets of his marvellous influence with men. Could he have accepted the invitations which poured in

upon him from the savants of Mexico and South America, he might have spent the remaining years of his life in a triumphant tour through those countries. There is no doubt that the honors shown him at the Pan-American Congress gratified him more than any others which he received during his long professional career. He understood the temperament and character of his southern friends. He knew, perhaps better than most northern men, the hygienic needs of Mexican and South American communities. His exhaustive study of climatology had made him familiar with the conditions of life in these countries, and as he was essentially a practical man, he could converse with the southern delegates on questions of local interest to them. He liked the warm Latin temperament, enjoyed its enthusiasm, and knew how to stir it to its depths. The fame which the savants and the Government of Mexico accorded to his memory at the time of his death is evidence of the honor in which he was held among Latin-Americans.

His medical writings for 1893 were infrequent. The *University Medical Magazine* for February, 1894, contained an article by him on "A Case of Purulent Pericarditis, or Paracentesis of the Pericardium," with notes by Drs. J. H. Musser and John B. Deaver.[1] The Cleveland Medical Society elected him an honorary member, and the State Asylum for the Chronic Insane at Lebanon, Pennsylvania, invited him to become its consulting physician.[2] It was in this year that the Medical Club of Philadelphia gave him a reception, the first honor of the kind to a physician of Philadelphia. The Pittsburg Academy of Medicine elected

[1] Reprinted February, 1894. 7 pp.

[2] August 9, 1894. MS. letter, Joseph L. Lemberger, Secretary.

him an honorary member in January, 1895.[1] He had delivered an address[2] before this academy in the preceding month. This address reflected his activities in his native city, where for many years he had been laboring to secure a supply of pure water through a system of filtration. He discussed Philadelphia questions before a Pittsburg audience. During 1895 he published only three articles: on "Malignant Endocarditis,"[3] in the preparation of which he was assisted by Dr. Alfred Stengel, one of his favorite students, his assistant at the time as Instructor of Clinical Medicine, and destined to become his successor in one of the two chairs which were created to fill the place vacated by his death; a paper on a case of "Phthisis Apparently Cured,"[4] and the address on Daniel Drake, delivered before the Mississippi Valley Medical Association at the Detroit meeting in September.[5] He wrote this address at Newport, amidst a tremendous pressure of work. A committee of the Pan-American Congress came to escort him to Detroit and to arrange the details of the next meeting of the Congress in the city of Mexico. Not a line of this address suggests that it was the work of a broken and weary man. It bubbles over with spirit, freshness, and information. Dr. Pepper had been pioneering all his life, and he sympathized with Drake, the pioneer of medicine in the West. He

[1] January 20.

[2] December 1, 1894. Address of Dr. Pepper, delivered at the Fifth Annual Meeting of the Pittsburg Academy of Medicine. The *Pittsburg Medical Review*, 1895.

[3] *University Medical Magazine*, May; also reprinted.

[4] Id., December, and reprint.

[5] September 4, 1895. Published by the Chicago American Medical Association Press.

admired the hardy Kentuckian who had accomplished so much in life. The address, highly finished as it is, ranks with the address on Dr. Rush rather than with the address before the Pan-American Congress.

At the conclusion of the address on Drake at Detroit he gave official announcement, as Chairman of the Executive Committee of the Pan-American Congress, that the Republic of Mexico had extended a cordial invitation to the physicians of the United States to attend a second Congress in the City of Mexico during Christmas week, 1896. At the first meeting at Washington success had been won and zeal aroused to make the organization permanent. Since that time much correspondence had kept the leading members of the association in close touch, and it had been decided that the medical interests of the Western World would be advanced by holding the next meeting of the Congress in one of the South American countries or in Mexico. The matter was settled by the attitude of the Mexican Government and the enthusiasm of physicians and other scientific men in the City of Mexico. The entire community there vied with one another in their efforts to confer dignity, brilliancy and solid value upon the approaching gathering. President Diaz and the Minister of Justice and Public Instruction, Señor Barranda; the Mayor of the City of Mexico, Señor Carmacho; the President of the Congress, Dr. Carmona; its indefatigable Secretary, Dr. Eduardo Liceaga, greatly distinguished for his successful labors in the cause of public health, were perhaps the most prominent in perfecting all arrangements.

The trains which brought the delegates to Mexico were met by delightful hosts; the railroad stations were decorated with flags of different countries, and the arrangements

for the comfort and pleasure of the visitors were on an imperial scale. The Congress held its sessions in the School of Mines, but the opening session on the evening of November 16 was in the National Theatre. President Diaz delivered the address of welcome; Dr. Pepper then delivered the address of the evening. Never had he spoken before a more brilliant body, and never before had he received so great an ovation. The resources of hospitality were exhausted to make his visit notable, impressive, and happy. His address was less technical than the one he had delivered in Washington, but the occasion required a different preparation. In Mexico he was performing an international social function rather than delivering a scientific lecture. The man and the occasion had met. Of the many public duties which Dr. Pepper was repeatedly called upon to perform, addresses of this kind were perhaps the most numerous, and no man was ever better fitted by nature and training than he to perform such duties gracefully. The vigor of the Saxon and the flower and grace of the Latin were curiously combined in him, so that he could perform such duties as these with ease and effectiveness. His visit to Mexico was a royal progress. The city was at his feet. In his address he touched on many subjects of common interest to the different nations of the New World: education, arbitration, public hygiene, reciprocity in trade, and—doubtless of the greatest interest to him—the scientific study of archæology and ethnology.[1]

[1] MS. The Address and Proceedings of the Second Triennial Meeting of the International Executive Commission of the Pan-American Congress. Held in the City of Mexico, November 18, 1896. Cincinnati, Ohio, U. S. A. 1897.

His reference in the address to the study of archæology and ethnology recalls an anecdote of this visit to Mexico. He was invited to dine with one of the wealthiest men of the capital, who had an old Moorish vase, almost priceless, among his art treasures. An American lady who happened to be there that afternoon was shown the vase, and knowing that Dr. Pepper was in town, remarked to its owner, "Look out; if Dr. Pepper sees that vase he will want to have it." "No one that lives can have that," was the reply; "it is dearer to me than any other of my possessions." A few days later the lady met the Mexican host and inquired, with a smile, "How about that vase?" "Alas!" responded he, with emotion, "he has taken it for the University Museum. I must have been hypnotized, but it is so."

On September 16, he was elected an honorary member of the Medical Association of the County of Kings, in New York, and two months later an honorary member of the Railroad Conductors' Club of North America. This last election hints at the friendly relations which existed between him and that most worthy company of American citizens. Dr. Pepper's consulting practice took him all over the country. Scarcely a week passed when he was not called to some distant point, which he usually reached by special train. These numerous and hurried trips brought him in contact with a multitude of railroad men, and with all of these, from brakeman to conductor, he maintained most cordial relations. The result might be expected: he travelled in the utmost comfort and received attention such as money could never buy. It was a fixed habit of his never to ignore a subordinate. He treated the humblest man in the railroad service with as much courtesy as he did the president of the corporation.

On one occasion in connection with an important matter at Washington, it became necessary to convince the Chief of a Bureau of the Government that a piece of work which the University wished done should be done by the Government gratuitously. A large part of this service involved clerical work. When the matter came up in conference, Dr. Pepper inquired about the character of the Chief of the Bureau, and one who was present suggested that a peremptory order be obtained from the Secretary of the Interior, with whom Dr. Pepper and others who were present had most friendly relations. "No," said Dr. Pepper; "let us not override a subordinate; we will only antagonize him and trammel our efforts. Let us keep the Secretary of the Interior in reserve and appeal to him only when necessary." Following out this programme, the Chief of the Bureau was first approached in a pleasing way. He was invited to a function in Philadelphia, was introduced to congenial persons, and thus brought into an atmosphere of sympathy with the purpose of the University. A letter to the Secretary of the Interior asking for an order that the work might be done was written, but it was never delivered. The Chief of the Bureau, and indeed some of his subordinates, were won over in a friendly way and the work was speedily accomplished in a manner satisfactory to all concerned.

One of the flattering incidents connected with Dr. Pepper's visit to Mexico is related in the following letter:

"City of Mexico, November 28, 1896.

"In accordance with the promise made you while here, I proposed you as an honorary member of the Academy of Medicine, at the first meeting which we had since your departure (*i.e.*, 25th inst.).

"Our regulations require five signatures for admission to honor-

ary membership. After[1] [five?] had signed in the first place, *all* of the members present—desiring to have the honor of proposing you —signed the petition, and you were accepted unanimously.

"This will demonstrate to you the high esteem in which you are held by the members of the Academy, and it must be extremely gratifying for you to have obtained the votes of scientific men composing that body, which, in my opinion, is quite a natural result of your merits and kindness towards them.

"You will receive your Diploma at an early date, and in the meanwhile believe me,

"Yours very sincerely,

"F. M. BANDERSON."[2]

In January, 1897, he was elected consulting physician to the Philadelphia Hospital for Women, the last appointment of the kind, and the last of many of the kind which he received.[3] In July he received notice of his election as Foreign Corresponding Member of the National Academy of Medicine, Peru.[4] Dr. Osler's book on "Angina Pectoris," dedicated to Dr. Gairdner, appeared about this time. A letter by Gairdner to Dr. Pepper referring to it is of melancholy interest in the light of subsequent events, as Dr. Pepper died of this disease.

"9 THE COLLEGE, GLASGOW, April 15, 1897.

"DEAR DR. PEPPER:

"You send me so many and such good things that I am ashamed not to be able to make any return in kind, but you must just con-

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[1] This is an exact copy of the letter; some word evidently was omitted from the original, probably the word "five."

[2] MS. letter.

[3] January 25, 1897. MS. letter from Mary Newhall, Corresponding Secretary.

[4] July 7. MS.

sider me as an old fellow with failing eyesight, who has come to the sad conclusion that his best work has been done, and that if 'ilka dog has his day,'—the day of this dog is wellnigh over for the kind of work of which he was at one time so fond, and you will kindly take him, therefore, at his own estimate when he sends you a little pamphlet like that I enclose to-day, not at all new, but *hammering* on a theme I have touched on before.

"I am glad to hear of you as stirring in your vocation, and the noble work of your clinical laboratory will be an example to us all and to the next generation when I, if not you, have been swept off the board to make room for younger men. Osler has sent me a capital book on "Angina Pectoris," which he dedicates to me very kindly, thus once more improving greatly on work I did thirty years ago. I wish I could get that article on 'Aneurism,' for Clifford Allbutt, finished; but it lingers in hand, though more than half through, and I can never get it advanced as I would like. You promised me, I think, some applications of the Röntgen rays upon the subject, but I have not seen more than a hint of it, and I have had no suitable cases lately. Apart from the semi-blindness, however, I am very well—only I don't think that even the British Medical Association and the British Association of Science together will tempt me over to Toronto or Montreal this autumn. My son Frank has been doing good work in the hospitals, and will in May go as private secretary and assistant to Mr. Rolson, of Leeds, a most distinguished surgeon, from whom he will learn a great deal.

"Please take note of the little slip enclosed,[1] to see how difficult it is to put down an abuse. The scamp who so advertises was taken off the Medical Register for misconduct, after an appeal to the Privy Council; here he is with a bogus degree from Philadel-

[1] The Cure of Consumption. 2s. 6d., post free. To be had of author, E. W. Alabone, M.D., Philadelphia, U. S. A., D.Sc., Ex-M.P.C.S. Eng., by Exam., 1070 Highbury, London, N.

phia, as lively as ever. Let me hear always if Mrs. Pepper is well, or yourself, when you write.

"W. GAIRDNER."[1]

Soon after the outbreak of the Spanish-American War he was appointed by the Governor of Pennsylvania a member of a commission of three to examine medical officers of the National Guard before their joining the volunteer army. It was his last appointment. He went to Mount Gretna, Pennsylvania, the first week in May, though physically unfit to perform the duties assigned him. Nevertheless he ignored the warnings of disease, and went to the camp expecting to be absent from home four days. The weather was chilly, with penetrating dampness, and he was unable to remain in camp as he had intended.

Franklin, his second son, was already in camp when his father was appointed inspector. He left Mount Gretna for Philadelphia, to consult his father about the enlistment, about the same time Dr. Pepper left Philadelphia on his way to the camp. Their trains passed, and neither knew that the other was so near at hand.

Dr. Pepper found the weather too severe at Mount Gretna, and started homeward. Franklin meanwhile had returned to Mount Gretna, and father and son had a brief conversation as their trains stood side by side. It was their last meeting. Franklin enlisted for two years in the Spanish-American War, his father approving, and Dr. Pepper returned to Philadelphia to prepare for a journey to California in search of rest and restoration to health. But before leaving he must push forward the civic plans in which he was so deeply interested,

[1] MS. letter.

nearly all of which were embodied in a twelve million dollars loan bill then pending in Councils.

With the entry of his appointment on this medical commission his brief diary of his appointments, public addresses, and writings closes. Registering from year to year, usually from month to month, the index to professional honors, such as rarely fall to the lot of the physician, and social activities and literary work accomplished, sufficient in themselves to fill the measure of a busy life, Dr. Pepper unconsciously betrayed the quality which distinguished all his work—the quality of accuracy. The half-dozen faded blue pages on which, written in his own hand, stands the index to his activities, require no interlineation or correction. The most exacting test, verification from other sources, reveals the accuracy of the register which he made, from time to time, of his own life. But the last entry is incomplete. No date is given—an omission peculiar to the two entries for the year 1898. He had marked off the page, like those for the preceding forty years, for a full year's activities.

"The wizard hand lies cold,
Which at its topmost speed let fall the pen
And left the tale half told."

His only contribution to medical literature the last year of his life, was an article on "Abrupt Onset in Typhoid Fever," which appeared in the *Philadelphia Medical Journal*, January 8, and was prepared with the assistance of Dr. Stengel. It was reprinted after Dr. Pepper's death.[1]

[1] MS. pamphlet, 1899. 10 pp. The *Philadelphia Medical Journal.*

VI

THE PEPPER CLINICAL LABORATORY; ESTIMATE OF DR. PEPPER AS PHYSICIAN AND WRITER

DR. PEPPER'S interest in the University Hospital continued unabated through life. The Hospital, in connection with the Medical Department, was the object of his fostering care. In 1891 he initiated and actively took up the movement to secure a Laboratory of Pathology in connection with the Medical School, offering to give from his own purse the sum of fifty thousand dollars for its support.[1] This proposition meant that he would transfer a subscription of fifty thousand dollars which he had then recently made towards a fund of two hundred and fifty thousand for the endowment of the Medical Department, to insure the extension of the course in that department from three years to four.[2] The Medical Faculty approved the transfer,[3] soon after which action he made the following proposition to the Board of Managers of the University Hospital:

His subscription of fifty thousand dollars to secure the adoption by the Medical Faculty and Trustees of the four

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[1] Documents relating to the foundation of the William Pepper Laboratory of Clinical Medicine. Proposal of Dr. Pepper, May 29, 1891.

[2] See Dr. Pepper's Inaugural Address at the Opening of the Four-year Course of Medical Study in the University of Pennsylvania, October 2, 1893. Reprinted from the *University Medical Magazine*. 16 pp.

[3] February 20, 1894.

years graded medical course he had made payable in five annual instalments of ten thousand dollars each, the first due in 1893. The extension of the medical course had proved a financial as well as an educational success, and it was the desire of the Medical Faculty to have an addition to its equipment rather than to its endowment. The Pennsylvania Legislature in 1893 made an appropriation of one hundred thousand dollars. It was a condition of the grant that eighty thousand dollars must be raised by private subscription. Therefore immediate action was necessary to make the State appropriation available.

Dr. Pepper directed his bankers to pay fifty thousand dollars to the Treasurer of the University on condition that the remaining thirty thousand dollars in subscriptions necessary to make the State appropriation available should be subscribed and paid into the University before May 1, 1894, and that the total sum thus secured, one hundred and sixty thousand dollars, available for construction, should forthwith be expended in accordance with the act of the Legislature;[1] the Trustees to pay annually from the funds of the Hospital towards the maintenance of the Laboratory of Clinical Medicine five per cent. upon twenty-five thousand dollars, which Dr. Pepper intended should be reserved as an endowment fund. The Laboratory was to be erected in accordance with the plans prepared by Dr. John S. Billings, at the time the Director of the Hospital, on the site desig-

[1] For the extension of the Maternity Hospital, twenty thousand dollars. For the erection of a Laboratory of Clinical Medicine, twenty-five thousand dollars. For the erection of a new wing to hospital, ninety-five thousand dollars. For the erection of a new laundry and disinfecting apparatus, fifteen thousand dollars. For minor constructions, seven thousand dollars.

THE PEPPER CLINICAL LABORATORY, UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA

nated by its managers, and should always be styled the William Pepper Laboratory of Clinical Medicine. "It being my intention," continued this communication, "to create hereby a memorial for my father." The Director and Assistant Director of the Laboratory were to be appointed annually by the Board of Managers of the Hospital, upon the nomination of the Professor of the Theory and Practice of Medicine and of Clinical Medicine—professorships held in succession by Dr. Pepper's father and by himself.

The purposes of the Laboratory were to promote the interests of the patients in the University Hospital "by the prosecution of minute clinical studies and original research, and to advance the interests of science by the publication of the results of such work." Dr. Pepper stipulated that at no time should teaching be given in the Laboratary to undergraduates or to any students except graduates of the University of Pennsylvania or of other approved medical schools "whose curriculum is at least of equal length and grade with that of the Medical Department of the University of Pennsylvania." Provision was also made "for advanced workers engaged in original research." Publications based on work done were to bear the general title "Contributions from the William Pepper Laboratory of Clinical Medicine."[1]

The managers of the Hospital accepted Dr. Pepper's offer and requested the Board of Trustees to carry its plan into effect.[2] The Medical Faculty entered heartily into the fulfilment of the plan.[3] All the formalities having at last been

[1] Proposition of Dr. Pepper to the Board of Managers of the University Hospital, February 24, 1894, pp. 5–7.

[2] February 26, 1894. Id., p. 8.

[3] Communication, March 5, 1894, p. 9.

complied with, the Board of Trustees adopted Dr. Pepper's laboratory plan, released him from his subscription of fifty thousand dollars towards the cost of extending the medical course to four years, and on April 23, 1894, he transmitted his check for fifty thousand dollars for the specific purpose of the Laboratory.[1] On December 4, 1895, the William Pepper Laboratory of Clinical Medicine was formally opened. The presentation address was by Dr. John S. Billings, Professor of Hygiene in the University and Director of the University Hospital. After giving a brief description of the building and its construction, he concluded with the following letter from Dr. Pepper, which gives a history of the movement culminating in the erection of the laboratory and of the motives which had impelled its founder.

"December 3, 1895.

"MY DEAR BILLINGS:

"In response to your request that I would write a letter to you, as Director of the University Hospital, stating my purpose and wishes in establishing this Laboratory of Clinical Medicine, I have prepared, with considerable hesitation, the following statement.

"My father, the late William Pepper, held the chair of the Theory and Practice of Medicine and of Clinical Medicine in the University of Pennsylvania from 1860 until the spring of 1864, when he was forced to resign by the progress of the disease which caused his death on October 10, 1864, in the fifty-fifth year of his age.

"Already at that time a few young men had formed the definite hope of reforming the system of medical education in America, and of placing it on the sound basis of clinical teaching. I can say for some of them, including my brother George, who died in 1872, at the age of thirty-two years, after a brilliant and all too short career, that the eloquent advocacy of clinical teaching and its effective

[1] Communication, March 5, 1894, p. 13.

application by my father supplied at once the inspiration and the exemplar. Both father and son wore themselves out in the service of humanity and science and fell victims to the terrible scourge of pulmonary consumption.

"It is not necessary to review the long and weary struggle for reform in medical education which has only now ended. The *rôle* played by the University of Pennsylvania has been a proud one, as befitted her traditions and her obligations. The names of Edward Rhoads, of Horace Binney Hare, of John S. Parry, of William F. Jenks, should not fail of mention, although they fell early in the struggle; for these were brave spirits, who dared to aspire greatly. And other names—Leidy and Agnew, of the immortals; and Stillé and Weir Mitchell, still happily preserved to us in their rare intellectual vigor; and Wood and Norris and Tyson, my life-long colleagues—must be named with grateful tribute for their labors in the cause of higher medical education and of clinical teaching and scientific research.

"It was our fond dream, in those early days, that a happy time would come when well-equipped laboratories with adequate endowment would offer the chance of original investigation which was then denied. Horace Hare fitted himself by long and costly training for the special work of chemical research in the field of clinical medicine. His gifts and attainments were worthy of his descent from America's first chemist, Robert Hare. As chairman of the building committee of this hospital in 1872 I planned some small rooms around the base of this amphitheatre where you now stand; and I can recall vividly the pleasure with which I gave the necessary equipment to have the best of these rooms ready for Hare when he returned in 1875 from the laboratory in Leipsic.

"He was gratified, and entered at once with enthusiasm upon important chemical researches in connection with cases of disease in the hospital wards. In less than one year pulmonary consumption attacked him, and he died in 1878. Parry and then Jenks succumbed to the same affection, while Rhoads, one of the most

beloved of our little group, died of organic heart disease. You cannot wonder that I registered a vow to do what I could to secure the erection and endowment of a special department of the University Hospital for chronic disease of the lungs and heart, and a laboratory of clinical medicine to promote original research into the causes and nature of disease. At a meeting of the Board of Managers held August 12, 1879, a memorial setting forth the necessity of provision for those suffering from chronic disease of the chest was formally approved, and it was resolved that a special ward should be opened so soon as the sum of one hundred thousand dollars was available. It was with special reference to this undertaking that the annual Charity Ball was established, and over twelve thousand dollars was secured the first year for the new department of this Hospital. In addition to this, the funds necessary to endow seventeen beds in perpetuity, amounting to eighty-five thousand dollars, were contributed by generous men and women; and then a noble-hearted man, Henry C. Gibson, came forward with the proposal to erect a separate wing to be devoted to the care of patients with consumption and other chronic diseases of the chest. It was you, Mr. Director, who prepared the plans of the Gibson wing, a structure which will commemorate so long as the University of Pennsylvania shall endure the name and good deeds of one of the best friends the University has ever possessed. It is true it has been impossible to devote this wing exclusively to these cases until now, when the completion of the new surgical wing of the Hospital will permit proper classification and arrangement of patients. I cannot refrain from the briefest mention of the legacy of sixty thousand dollars of my cousin, Henry Seybert, to endow a ward in the Gibson wing for chronic diseases, and of the much larger bequests made by two noble women, which have not yet become operative.

"The most important step was taken when I learned, one morning in 1889, that it might be possible to secure to Philadelphia and to the University the services of Dr. John S. Billings. Before evening Mr. Henry C. Lea had responded to an earnest appeal

that he would increase a previously contemplated gift to equip a small laboratory of hygiene to an amount sufficient to erect a complete laboratory. His conditions were that if an additional sum of two hundred thousand dollars were secured for endowment; if Dr. Billings were secured as Director of the Laboratory; if the study of hygiene were made obligatory on students of medicine, of dentistry, and of certain other branches, he would erect at his expense a Laboratory of Hygiene at a cost of not less than fifty thousand dollars. I was at your house in Washington before breakfast the next morning, and drew up and signed an agreement the operation of which has been the establishment of the most complete laboratory of hygiene in America under your direction, and the rapid advancement of this Hospital under your administration to a very high level of efficiency. Henry C. Gibson contributed twenty-five thousand dollars towards the laboratory fund,—many generous friends co-operated,—but the funds had reached only the figures of one hundred and forty thousand dollars when sixty thousand dollars [1] was received from George S. Pepper, coupled with the condition that I should designate the particular chair which should be endowed therewith. Not one moment's hesitation did I feel in naming the Chair of Hygiene.

"Even this, however, did not complete our compliance with the wise though stringent conditions imposed by Mr. Lea. He had stipulated further that, when the requisite amount of two hundred thousand dollars was secured for the endowment of the Laboratory of Hygiene, an effort should be made to obtain subscriptions of money sufficient to justify the Board of Trustees and the Medical Faculty of the University in raising the standard of medical study and in prolonging the course to four years. In order to secure compliance with this final condition it was deemed necessary that a subscription of fifty thousand dollars should be made to the Medical

[1] The proportionate share of the residuary estate of Mr. Pepper subsequently accruing has increased the amount of this legacy to ninety thousand dollars.

Department, and that an additional guarantee of twenty thousand dollars per annum for five years should be secured. This was done, and it is only reasonable that it should be done. Any one who appreciates the commanding influence exerted by the Medical Department of the University of Pennsylvania will realize that it was essential for the establishment of higher medical education throughout this continent that it should be demonstrated here that such advance should be made and could be maintained with good practical results. As a matter of fact, the result of the important change was unexpectedly gratifying. The increased attractiveness of the longer and more practical course of instruction inaugurated outweighed the much greater cost and difficulty of securing the degree. The receipts of the Medical School did not fall off; no part of the guarantee fund was called; and the Medical Faculty cordially assented, by resolutions adopted February 20, 1894, to the proposal that my subscription of fifty thousand dollars should be applied to the erection and partial endowment of a Laboratory of Clinical Medicine. The Board of Trustees of the University and the managers of the University Hospital and the Medical Faculty concurred cordially in approving the conditions connected with the proposed foundation.

"There seems to be every reason to hope that the building thus constructed upon plans provided by you will prove well adapted for the purpose in view. I desire to take this occasion to express publicly my sincere thanks to you for the unwearying care and cordial sympathy you have extended to the work at every stage and in every phase of its progress. That the restriction of the use of the Laboratory to original research and to post-graduate instruction has secured general approval, and has already met a recognized need, may be judged from the fact that nine associates have already received appointments and have been assigned to distant fields of original investigation. It is superfluous to observe that the small amount of endowment which I have thus far been able to contribute ($25,000) is wholly inadequate for the maintenance of the works. It has been

estimated that to pay the necessary salaries; to provide annual stipends to a certain number of the associates; to supply the costly apparatus required; to issue the numerous publications resulting from the researches therein conducted; to purchase the necessary journals and works of reference; to meet the current expenses, will require the income of an endowment fund of at least two hundred thousand dollars. While I shall reckon it a privilege to supply as much of this sum as my continued professional labors may render possible, I hope it is not unseemly to indicate two directions in which contributions might be made without great effort to promote the work to be here conducted. A Fellowship in Clinical Medicine may be established by a gift of ten thousand dollars, subject to the statutes of the University, the income of which would defray the living expenses of the incumbent and would also provide a fair sum to maintain his place in the Laboratory. A gift of five thousand dollars would yield an income sufficient to meet either one or the other of these objects, as might be indicated by the donor. To any one interested in the study of any special disease or group of diseases, such as tuberculosis or heart disease or infectious fever,—all of which destroy so many thousands of precious lives annually,—the advantages of establishing a special research fund must seem obvious. I earnestly trust that such endowments will gradually accumulate around this Laboratory. The special trust created would be administered scrupulously by the Trustees of the University. The good results would be far-reaching and enduring. It is indeed hard to conceive in what way we, whose dearest and most cherished interests will be affected vitally by the results of such researches as will be conducted here, can better display our sorrow for the dead and our love for the living than by strengthening the resources of such institutions as this which is to be opened formally to-day. May it long endure to promote the interests of suffering humanity and to enlarge the boundaries of medical science. I beg to remain,

"Your obedient servant,

"WILLIAM PEPPER."

"The letter of Dr. Pepper's which I have read," added Dr. Billings in closing, "needs no comment, and very few words of praise from me are either needful or proper to be spoken to this audience of his friends. Broad and far has been his outlook in thus providing for the future a heritage of power which mildew, flame, and frost cannot harm. It is not a statue or carving or memorial arch that he has given, things that will blacken and moulder and crumble as the centuries roll by, until the mills of the gods shall have ground them to dust. It is a perpetual well-spring of force, a storage battery which will fill itself and give out warmth and light and motion so long as this institution of learning shall exist on earth. He says, and says it with authority, find me the means of making the lives of men longer and more efficient,—of putting aside the plague that has destroyed our fathers and brothers and threatens to consume our children; his demand is not for the fruit which is known and harvested, but for that of regions yet unknown and unexplored, for which he provides the seed, for charts of dangerous bays and coast lines still unsounded and not yet triangulated.

"The taking of such a step as this requires not only the opportunity of means, but also wisdom, courage, faith; wisdom, as regards selection of the unknown regions to be explored, and in providing motive power and guidance for the work to be done; courage, in investing funds in an enterprise the precise results of which cannot be predicted; and faith, in the future progress of science and in the future managers of this important trust.

"But wisdom shall be justified by her children, and this far-seeing, bold-planning man of the silver tongue and the open hand will be remembered as the founder of the first distinctive laboratory for research in clinical medicine in this country so long as there are sickness and death among the children of men."

The Provost of the University formally accepted the gift, and the exercises closed with an address on the "Evolution of Modern Scientific Laboratories," by William D. Welch,

M.D., LL.D., Professor of Pathology at Johns Hopkins University.[1]

Of the man to whom the Laboratory was erected as a memorial, Dr. Welch said:

"William Pepper the elder was a very distinguished physician and trusted consultant of this city, for many years an attending physician of the Pennsylvania Hospital, where he was a clinical teacher of great influence, and for four years the Professor of the Theory and Practice of Medicine in this University. He belonged to that remarkable group of American physicians, trained under Louis, who brought to this country the best methods and traditions of the French school of medicine at the time of its highest glory. His diagnostic powers are said to have been remarkable. With his broad sympathies, his high ideals, and his active and enlightened efforts for the promotion of clinical medicine, how he would have welcomed such opportunities as will be afforded by this Laboratory to contribute to a better knowledge of the nature, the diagnosis, and the treatment of disease."

The unique character of this generous memorial foundation evoked the following comment from Dr. William P. Gairdner, of the University of Glasgow:

"The 'No. 2' of the William Pepper Laboratory is good reading for all your friends, and especially so for me, to whom you have on many occasions shown such marked complimentary kindness. To have had the means of exercising such liberality and to have had the willingness so to use the means are alike a glory to you and to your University."[2]

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[1] From the Pepper Laboratory of Clinical Medicine. No. 2. Proceedings at the Opening of the William Pepper Laboratory of Clinical Medicine, December 4, 1895, with an illustration of the building. 31 pp.

[2] MS. letter to Dr. Pepper, dated Glasgow, March 20, 1896.

It may be said that the Laboratory remains one of the most cherished creations in the University with which Dr. Pepper's name is associated. He looked upon it as an essential contribution to the unity of the Hospital as a scientific institution. It crowned the work which he had begun a quarter of a century before. Its dedication occurred after he had retired from the Provostship. A few months before its dedication he sent the following letter to a member of the Board of Trustees, containing a summary of his financial services to the Hospital:

"My mind had been occupied lately with the finances of the Hospital, and, as I had been largely responsible for its policy, I thought I would consult the records and add together the sums which I have actually secured toward its development and support. I find that apart from the land, which I have secured by a tremendous personal effort; and apart from the Legislative appropriations for which I was responsible; and apart from the great legacy of ————, which must soon become available, I have actually secured for the Hospital five hundred and sixty thousand dollars, which has been paid in cash. This does not include very small subscriptions, which would doubtless aggregate fifteen or twenty thousand dollars additional.

"Yours sincerely,

"WILLIAM PEPPER.

"SAMUEL DICKSON, Esq., May 20, 1895."

Dr. Pepper's medical writings have been mentioned as they appeared, and of some a contemporary comment has been given. He wrote upward of one hundred and seventy contributions, nearly all of which embodied notes of cases arising in his own practice. For thirty-four years, 1864–1898, he was engaged in an ever-increasing general practice; had he been a specialist, probably he would have written

more; with his temperament activity was a necessity of life. His period of greatest production was from 1864 to 1884, —that is, from his twenty-first to his forty-first year. After the Centennial, 1876, he became involved in educational and civic interests, his practice increased enormously, and he wrote less on medicine and more on education.

Like law-books, medical writings are rarely literature and are traditionally short-lived. Ten years for a medical book is equivalent to threescore and ten for human life. A medical book which continues an authority for twenty years is as rare as a centenarian among men. The history of a successful medical treatise is usually that of repeated revisions. Physicians are eminently devoted to the new things of their profession. They know that changes are constant, and out of changes and experiments oftentimes comes progress; nothing is more hopelessly valueless than a medical book which is behind the times.

It is vouchsafed to few men to write books that live and a physician can hardly hope to be among the few. His book must be judged by a different standard from that applicable to works of history, fiction, or poetry. If he adds however so little to the treasured experience of his class, he justly ranks high among men. Nearly every great medical discovery has been the utilization, by one mind, of the earlier labors of many minds. Medical science may be said to be the correlation of wide and varied experience in the treatment of diseases. The circulation of the blood had been suspected before Harvey saw it. Inoculation, as Jenner gave it to the world, was largely the result of earlier experiments by men now forgotten. Pasteur's experiments with microbes were antedated by innumerable cases of germicidal treatment.

It seems to be reserved to a few men to co-ordinate the work of the ages. Such men are Columbus, Helmholtz, Sir Humphry Davy, Newton, Harvey, Jenner, and Pasteur. Meanwhile, other men are wonderful practitioners; but even the fame of Sir James Simpson, of Sir Astley Cooper, of Dr. Benjamin Rush, of Dr. Physick, a fame which in their time filled the world, becomes a flickering memory in the minds of posterity. It may be said that no physician wins equal fame as writer and practitioner.

It is more difficult to measure the services of a practitioner than those of a medical writer. Dr. Pepper was practitioner, writer, and teacher. He lectured at the University continuously for thirty years, imparting instruction the while to upward of twelve thousand students. Though it is no criterion of him as a physician, it may be added that during his long career he treated above thirty-five thousand cases. During the last twenty years of his life the volume of his practice was prodigious and came from all parts of America, including South America and the West Indies, and from Europe. He was much in demand as a consultant and was frequently called upon to make long and rapid journeys. Travelling by special train or special car was a common incident in his professional life.

In his treatment of the sick it was his study to get on the side of nature. He trusted much to rest and regimen, and, primarily, to getting the mind of the patient in a normal frame. He was by nature a psychologist and his powers of diagnosis were of the highest order. These powers he applied in other interests than his medical practice. Each of the innumerable civic and educational problems which came before him was met as he met the critical medical cases which were presented to him for diagnosis. His reasoning

faculties were wonderfully strong, active, and accurate. "It is far easier to know something about the circulation of the blood," remarks a distinguished philosophical writer,[1] "than to have any adequate knowledge of the medical aspects of the case of an individual man whose circulation is in any way deranged by disease. It is precisely the individual case that constitutes the goal of the physician's knowledge." It was Dr. Pepper's faculty to know the individual case and to reach the goal. His insight was science. He seized on causes and effects readily and with almost unerring precision, and his mental processes were phenomenally rapid.

With these powers he exercised an inspiring sympathy which quickly won confidence. A patient felt safe under his care. His manner towards his patients was marked. Those who did not understand him thought him a mannerist; all explicable by his rule of conduct to become deeply interested in the welfare of every person with whom he had dealings. Thus he kept his patients ever in mind and constantly and freely wrote to them little notes of encouragement. A patient living in an obscure village of Pennsylvania would receive a delightful note from him while he was in California. The unknown country doctor who had called him in consultation would receive a long letter commending his treatment and his theory of the case. Dr. Pepper kept everybody in good cheer. His coming into the sick-room was like the coming of sunshine. His consideration was illustrated during a critical illness of Rev. Dr. H. V. Hilprecht, the distinguished archæologist, a professor at the University. Mrs. Hilprecht was in Germany, sick

[1] The World and the Individual, by Josiah Royce, Ph.D., vol. i. p. 456.

with anxiety for her husband. Dr. Pepper wrote to her daily of the condition of her husband and of his progress towards recovery. To do such a kindness would never have occurred to a less sympathetic and less busy physician.

Not the least attraction of Dr. Pepper was his personal appearance. His face was strong, mobile, and fine, and the "Pepper smile" has become a tradition in Philadelphia. He dressed with faultless taste and carried about with him an exhilarating atmosphere of freshness and sweetness.

His gratuitous practice was enormous, and he gave the same care to a poor as to a rich patient. Again and again he declined to accept fees from academic men. The University Faculty may be said to have belonged to his medical family. A notable instance was his treatment of Professor Alexander Johnston, of Princeton. He attended this eminent man, as he did General Philip H. Sheridan, without charge. To physicians and teachers his fees were remitted or were nominal.

It is not strange that he was endeared to a multitude of people. His practice was remunerative and he utilized it for the public welfare, which may be stated a little more plainly in this wise. During the last twenty-five years of his life he gave away upward of three hundred thousand dollars, all of which he earned. Most of this was given to the University. For years he was a money-earning machine for this great institution. His salary as professor and as Provost he expended many times over for the institution. Had he devoted all his energies solely to the practice of medicine for mercenary ends, one hesitates to say how much he might have earned.

At the memorial meeting held in the chapel of the University on November 29, 1898, Dr. Pepper's successor to

the Chair of the Theory and Practice of Medicine, James Tyson, M.D., made an address on behalf of the Medical Faculty, in which he related his acquaintance with Dr. Pepper and gave some interesting information concerning him as physician and medical writer.

"The elder Pepper's method of diagnosis was to make a patient and exhaustive examination of the case, weighing each symptom and physical sign, and after careful reflection cautiously to draw conclusions. These were always well founded and rarely changed. The younger Pepper's diagnosis was more rapid, more brilliant, and was usually sustained by the autopsy, though sometimes corrected by it. His quickness in recognizing a morbid condition and its causes was surprising, and he rarely erred in his diagnosis of the consequences which were likely to follow. His powers here were in part a result of his training while a close student of morbid anatomy in his early practice. It was his habit to conceive the morbid state which would naturally follow the symptoms of the case in hand. He was not dogmatic in diagnosis, but very keenly alive to the possibility of error and ready to acknowledge his mistakes.

"Even more striking than his power of diagnosis was his power to encourage and uplift those who consulted him. His capacity here amounted to genius and was utilized by the whole as well as by the sick."

Dr. Tyson's comment on this capacity of Dr. Pepper might be confirmed by the testimony of hundreds who at critical times came to him for encouragement, and the list would be found to include men and women in every calling in life. He seemed never to be discouraged. His capacity for perennial cheerfulness was one of the principal resources of his remarkable energy and efficiency. In his treatment of the sick, Dr. Tyson remarks, he was not lavish in the use

of drugs and that his prescriptions were simple and his directions to his patients explicit. He was careful in the selection of the patient's diet, and highly successful with diseases of the stomach and bowels. Indeed, in treating diseases of these organs, he had the skill and the reputation of a specialist.

As a teacher he spoke as one having authority. He was naturally an investigator and a teacher. His early practice was substantially a prolonged residence in the hospital. After his father's death, which occurred in 1864, it will be recalled that he entered the Pennsylvania Hospital as resident physician, and served there eighteen months.[1] He did this to secure the best possible foundation for his future work; and here he showed his character and foresight. Many a young physician who had already launched into practice without the name and fame of a distinguished father behind him considered it unnecessary to return to hospital work, and, as it were, start afresh. At the hospital he was an enthusiastic worker, giving himself no rest. In the early years of his practice he showed the same qualities, notably the love of activity which distinguished him in later life.

In teaching clinical medicine he had no superior, and he attracted students and patients from all parts of the country. His Saturday clinics were frequently made up of cases which had been thus assembled from far and near for the benefit of his opinion. No matter how difficult the case, he never hesitated to take it up, and he never failed to diagnose it to the edification of the class. He possessed a faculty of speech which he himself confessed was at times a disadvantage. He could talk most instructively and entertainingly even when

[1] From April, 1865, to October, 1866.

he had nothing to say. The testimony of thousands of medical students is to the grace and simplicity of his manner, to the music of his voice, and to the fluency of his speech.

He had a lofty conception of the function of a physician, and he constantly labored to make possible for medical students a broad and liberal culture in literature, science, and art. He firmly believed in a preliminary college training for medical men, and throughout life he grieved that his own preparation in the liberal arts had not been more ample than the American college course of his early life made possible. Thousands knew him as a medical lecturer, but a greater number knew him as an authority in medical literature. Not all the pamphlets he published were extraordinary or of great value. Of the one hundred and seventy, more or less, probably two-thirds are no more than accurate records of important cases, such as any physician in large practice may make. In his earlier career he made several important original contributions, growing out of his own investigations. Of these mention has already been made.

Dr. James Tyson, in his memorial address before the College of Physicians of Philadelphia, gave the following estimate of Dr. Pepper as a teacher and as a physician:

"As a teacher Dr. Pepper's greatest power lay in the clinical lecture. He was rapid in his examination of a case; quickly recognized distinctive features, and promptly drew conclusions; was at times almost instinctive in his diagnosis, a great contrast in this respect to his father, a laborious and exhaustive investigator, who seldom erred. In addressing students he (the younger Pepper) was impressive and authoritative, and they, as well as patients, remembered what he enjoined. His prescriptions were simple, but his directions were explicit and emphatic. As a practising physician he was hopeful and encouraging,—according to the views of

some, too much so,—but his encouraging opinions were the natural result of his hopeful nature, and not assumed. He could not take a discouraging view of anything."[1]

Dr. Pepper could be eloquent even on medical subjects. He never hesitated to enter upon the preparation of a public address because its preparation would involve exacting research. Like William Pitt, he knew how to utilize the labors of others. The effectiveness of this sort of preparation was well illustrated in his Presidential Address before the first Pan-American Medical Congress, in 1893. In this address he presumed to discuss a no less difficult subject than the state of America and its inhabitants at the time of its discovery by Columbus; the obstacles which delayed the great explorer; and the brave men who completed his work, together with the state of medical science in Europe in 1492 and the spirit which directed its later course. Dr. Pepper's presentation of the subject was so admirable as to awaken the enthusiasm and admiration of the representatives from British and Spanish America, and it so greatly enhanced his reputation as to evoke the remarkable reception which was given him in the City of Mexico at the second triennial meeting of the Congress. The Congress itself was a monument to his ability as an organizer; and the two massive volumes of nearly twelve hundred pages which contain, in English and Spanish, its Transactions abundantly attest how successful it became.

In the medical societies of the United States he took a warm interest and he was the constant recipient of acknowl-

[1] Memoir of the late William Pepper, M.D., LL.D., by James Tyson, April 3, 1901.

edgments from them of their appreciation of his professional work. In many of these societies he held office, and several of his most important medical papers were read before them. He was elected a Fellow of the College of Physicians in 1867, and for thirty years took an active interest in its proceedings. In 1897 he organized a company for the purpose of establishing a higher class of medical journals in Philadelphia, and with his usual sagacity he proceeded to interest and win the support of all the medical schools in Philadelphia, of the profession at large, and of a class that had never been interested before—prominent business men, other than publishers of medical books. On Saturday, January 1, 1898, the first number of *The Philadelphia Medical Journal* appeared. It quickly took rank among medical journals and remains a monument to Dr. Pepper's public spirit and energy. Had he done no more than his great work as a medical teacher, writer, and practitioner his career would have been remarkable. But that, in addition to all he accomplished as a medical man, he should have done what he did in education, in civil affairs, and in the advancement of science, and all within the twenty-five years of his more active life, is truly marvellous.

Conceived in the like spirit of discernment were the words of Dr. William Osler, spoken in an address delivered by him at the opening of the Johns Hopkins Medical School, in October, 1898:[1]

"Were I asked to name the most satisfactory single piece of work in Dr. Pepper's life, I should say unhesitatingly that which related to the promotion of higher medical education;" and

[1] In Memoriam—William Pepper, by William Osler, M.D. *The Philadelphia Medical Journal*, March 18, 1899.

he cited the two addresses of which an account has already been given, one delivered October 1, 1877, the other October 2, 1893. "They represent a forecast and retrospect. At the time of the removal of the University to West Philadelphia, the University Faculty was a strong one, but it contained a number of men who were saturated with old-time prejudices and who were bitterly opposed to any change in methods of medical education. Once before, in 1846, the University had made an attempt to elevate the standard of medical education, but unsuccessfully. In 1871 the Harvard medical faculty had been taken in hand and reorganized so that the example had been set, but there was probably no school in the Union in which the outlook for reform was thought to be less hopeful than at the University of Pennsylvania. The struggle was a hard one and the brunt of it fell upon the young men, and more particularly on Pepper, who was the very head and front of the new movement. The plan of reorganization was not carried out without much bitterness. The movement was immediately successful and the changes then made were but precursors of others more radical. It was always a source of great satisfaction to Dr. Pepper to feel that the plan for which he had worked so hard had been crowned with success. Years hence these two addresses will be regarded as perhaps the most valuable single contributions to the literature of the phenomenal educational movement through which we have lived during the latter part of this century."

The energy with which he took up the extension of the medical course at the University in 1877 characterizes every later undertaking of his life. The University could not fail to respond to his transforming power. Public libraries and great museums, which are now free to all, sprang up under his magical touch. Men of vast wealth under his inspiring influence poured forth their treasures like water. The medical profession in every country has produced men of first rank, but seldom has a medical man risen high in the coun-

cils of a nation or accomplished a great work in public affairs. Dr. Pepper maintained, to the end of his life, close relations with his profession, both as a consultant and as a teacher; attended with conscientiousness to a large and exacting practice, and amidst the multitudinous cares and duties incident to it maintained a dominant and creative influence in all public affairs of his native city and State. There is no precedent in the annals of medicine of another physician of first rank attaining equal influence and accomplishing so great results in education and in the foundation of public institutions devoted to the advancement of science and art.

Part II

THE EDUCATOR

I

THE UNIVERSITY

1862–1881

THE University, during Dr. Pepper's college days and for some time afterward, was, with the exception of the Medical Department, merely a local institution. Provost Goodwin believed that Philadelphia had about one hundred young men, who were disposed to avail themselves of the opportunity of getting a college education, and that this number was not likely to vary much, notwithstanding the increase of the population. Changes in public opinion respecting the best kind of education did not seem to him likely to produce a modification of the existing system. The service done by the University he regarded as its true, complete work, which it was doing well, even if this work was not appreciated as it should be by the community; hence no change was possible or desirable.[1]

With this opinion of Provost Goodwin, Professor Coppée, who, soon after Pepper's graduation, left the University of Pennsylvania and went to Lehigh University, agreed. The Trustees could not be induced to initiate changes looking to any enlargement of the plan; indeed they "were wholly indifferent to the subject, making no effort to understand the practical workings of the system by study or observation,

[1] Reminiscences of a Provost (Charles J. Stillé, LL.D.), 1866–1880, privately printed, p. 5.

and were, in fact, entirely out of sympathy with the Faculty, a number of which, for that very reason, avoided as much as possible conferring with them on University matters.[1] This was the outlook in the fall of 1866. The course of study at the time "was substantially that which had been established for more than a century."

Several efforts had been made to improve the system, but they had all failed after trials more or less earnest, because the scheme had proved impracticable, owing either to want of support by the public or to lack of co-operation by the Trustees and professors. The fatal defect of a vicious organization in the governing body (the Trustees) made itself felt in every department of the University, and the want of money to give any experiment of improved instruction a fair trial was only one, and by no means the worst, result of this defective organization.[2]

For more than eighty years only one donation, or legacy, and that of only five thousand dollars, had been received, "the income of which was to be devoted to provide instruction in drawing," a subject then not taught in the University. The number of undergraduate students had been for many years less than one hundred, and every one seemed discouraged and hopeless; dry rot was everywhere. "No spirit of improvement; no symptom of active life was visible either in the Trustees or professors in 1866. The ancient languages, mathematics as far as the calculus, some elementary chemistry and physics, some little intellectual and moral philosophy, and some very superficial instruction in rhetoric and English

[1] Reminiscences of a Provost (Charles J. Stillé, LL.D.), 1866–1880, privately printed, p. 5.

[2] Id., p. 6.

literature made up the curriculum;" which, it is proper to say, was established in the University of Pennsylvania by Provost Smith in 1756, as a four-years' course, before it was adopted by any other American college. "The professors were all thoroughly conscientious and competent men, and some of them excellent teachers. In their instruction they labored under many disadvantages, the greatest, perhaps being that of the very early age at which the boys were admitted, and the want of thorough, proper training in a school under the jurisdiction of the University."

The Academy from which the University sprang had always been regarded as the true feeder of the University, but was discontinued about the time of the outbreak of the civil war, and the students came from various private schools whose methods of instruction were different, and over which the University Faculty had no control. "The consequence," says Provost Stillé, "was that the preparatory schools, not the University, practically settled the standard of admission." The most striking feature of the University, at the close of the war, "was the evident disposition to adhere rigidly to mere routine in matters of instruction and discipline and the utter absence of all enthusiasm or interest in the reputation of the College." There was little sympathy between the Board and the Faculty. Indeed, the feeling towards the Board was rather one of bitterness and hostility. "The professors were not consulted upon subjects of which they alone had any practical knowledge, or at least their advice, if asked, was never heeded, and as to taking the initiative in any scheme of general reform, such a proceeding would have been looked upon as a case of *lèse-majesté*. The professors had been so long regarded and treated as clerks and mere employés by the trustees that they had lost all spirit of resist-

ance and had become contented, perforce, to stick to their routine duties."

Two members of the Board of Trustees, Frederick Fraley and John Welsh, both of whom were members while Pepper was an undergraduate, regretted the condition of affairs and realized the need of reform. Mr. Welsh in particular expressed himself as long having been dissatisfied with the existing system and willing to co-operate with the Faculty, or others, in introducing and maintaining a more enlarged system, but he had received no support from the Faculty. He was discouraged. Mr. Fraley agreed with him fully and lamented the low state of the University. This was the condition of affairs four years after Pepper graduated. It had been no better during his college days. That the condition of the University did not escape the eyes of undergraduates is hinted at in Pepper's remark to his friend and classmate Burk. Little did either of them then know that on the foundations which Provost Stillé was laying, and largely because of the reforms which he inaugurated from 1866 to 1880, William Pepper was one day to build up a great University.

At the time William Pepper graduated from Pennsylvania the principal subject of discussion at American educational centres was the elective system of college studies. The system was soon carried beyond the field of mere discussion, for Harvard College adopted and thus gave standing to the innovation. At Pennsylvania the change was advocated by Professor Stillé and less ardently by some of his colleagues. The difficulty in the way of effecting the change there was twofold,—the conservatism of many of the older professors and the poverty of the University. The relations between the Faculty and Board of Trustees, as has been explained,

were remote and somewhat hostile. The Board never consulted the professors, and they did not attempt to initiate improvements. The little life of the University followed a petty routine. Yet, when Dr. Stillé joined the Faculty of Arts in September, 1866, he had buoyant hopes that the relations of the Board and the Faculty might be placed on a better footing.

Many reforms were imperative, but the long habit of doing mere routine work had so undone the Faculty that it was practically incapable of taking the initiative in any enterprise; therefore, Dr. Stillé turned to the Board, and particularly to Mr. John Welsh, urging that a more liberal system of education be adopted. Fully aware of the many limitations of the school, Dr. Stillé proposed only moderate changes at first, and chiefly that elective systems of studies should be adopted, but in such a manner as not to bring the educational work of the school into hopeless confusion. Mr. Welsh heartily sympathized with this programme, no small part of which consisted merely in adding the modern languages to the old curriculum and the extension of the course in history and in English literature. Dr. Stillé made himself the go-between and found that nearly all the professors were favorably disposed towards the change. The result was the unanimous approval of the elective system by the Faculty, in December, 1866, and its heartily unanimous approval by the Trustees in January following. But the adoption of the system implied an increase in the teaching force, the expenditure of much money, and the establishment of a Department of Practical Science. To bring all these things about, the Board appointed a large committee, of which Mr. Welsh was chairman, to raise an endowment fund of half a million. Within a few weeks about fifty thousand

dollars were pledged, mostly on condition that the entire sum be raised within a year; but the work soon lagged, and the burden of raising the money fell wholly on Mr. Welsh and Mr. Frederick Fraley.

The elective system was to go into effect in 1867, at the opening of the college year, by which time, it was hoped, the endowment would be raised. Additional professors and instructors in the languages were secured and the increased interest which the new system awoke among the students soon demonstrated its value. If the Faculty had been doubtful of the wisdom of the change, the new spirit which it excited convinced the most conservative among them that the University had adopted a wise policy when it effected the change from the traditional four-years course introduced by Provost Smith nearly a century before.

The location of the University in a great mining and manufacturing State gave it unequalled opportunities for imparting instruction in the sciences. Dr. Stillé hoped that the impulse towards improvement would include the establishment of a school of instruction in the mechanic arts; but the response to the appeal for endowment was so slow, and the public apparently so unmindful of the University, that even Mr. Welsh, whose influence in Philadelphia at this time was unsurpassed, was disposed, in 1868, to abandon further effort to raise the money. At this time the Provost, Dr. Goodwin, in addition to his duties at the University, filled a professorship at the Divinity School of the Protestant Episcopal Church in Philadelphia. Some thought that he neglected the University and that he should resign either the divinity professorship or the office of Provost. He was disposed to do neither, and continued to serve both institutions with divided attention. About this time, in order to

excite public interest in the University, Dr. Stillé wrote a brief biography of the first Provost of the University, Dr. William Smith, the chief purpose of the book being to show the high reputation and wide influence of the school before the Revolution. He hoped to appeal to the pride of Philadelphia and thus to awaken its generosity; but his attempt failed, and the endowment seemed as far off as ever. There is no doubt that the winter of 1867 was the most gloomy period in the history of the University and marked a crisis in its affairs. The light, however, unexpectedly broke in the spring of 1868, when it was suggested that the endowment fund might be raised with the assistance of the city. This hint came to Mr. Welsh and Dr. Stillé from a man of much public spirit and possessing the confidence of the people, Mr. Nathanial B. Browne. "The city," says Dr. Stillé in his account of the affair, "should be asked to give to the University twenty-five or thirty acres of the Almshouse Farm, in West Philadelphia, a portion of which might be used as a site for the erection of buildings suitable for the proposed enlarged system of instruction, including a scientific school; and the rest might be sold, as occasion might present, at the value increased by the erection of a handsome college building in the neighborhood; the proceeds of the sale to be paid into the endowment fund."[1] This proved to be a working scheme. It was believed that the city authorities would give their consent, and for the first time there was promise of raising the fund. The Trustees took up the matter, and at their meeting in June appointed a special committee to inquire "into the expediency of procuring a new site for the University."

[1] Reminiscences of a Provost, p. 17.

At this time Provost Goodwin somewhat unexpectedly resigned. It was soon known that the managers of the Divinity School desired him to devote his entire time and labor to his chair in that institution, and, its duties being more agreeable to him than those of Provost, he conformed to their wishes. On July 5, 1868, Charles J. Stillé, LL.D., was unanimously elected Provost. He interpreted his election "as a pledge, on the part of the Board to the public, that the endowment should be completed, new buildings erected, and a scientific school established."[1] His ambition was to bring the University forward to rank with Harvard, Yale, and Princeton, whose Presidents then constituted the academic triumvirate of the country. But Dr. Stillé soon learned the difficulties and the hopelessness of his task. Each of these three college Presidents possessed the power as well as the insignia of office; the Provost of the University of Pennsylvania was quite destitute of both. His position was anomalous. He was the nominal head of the University, "with no connection with or control over the Departments of Medicine and Law; he was the head of only one Faculty—that of Arts. And even there his influence on the general policy of the Board so far as his own Department was concerned was extremely limited. He was not a member of the Board nor permitted to be present at its meetings. He might suggest changes in writing, but he was not permitted to explain or defend his views. He addressed a body not only unfamiliar with college organization, but, taken as they were from their own business an hour each month to consider University business, incapable of taking any active, intelligent, and persistent part in measures to improve it. It is

[1] Reminiscences of a Provost, p. 18.

not to be wondered at that, knowing the difficulties of the subject, he despaired of any practical aid from such a body in furthering schemes of enlargement and reform; that, therefore, he seldom used the power which the by-laws gave him of suggesting changes which should be at all radical, for he knew that his voice would not be heeded. He felt the humiliation of being a mere employé of the Trustees—a professor with another name, without that official authority which the heads of other colleges wielded with such good results."[1] This system of administration, which excluded a recognized and efficient head of the University, had produced most ruinous results throughout its history. The sluggishness of the institution during the student days of William Pepper was due to a fatal defect in its organization. Pepper had touched the weak spot when he remarked to Burk: "This can never be a real University until it has a Chancellor as its head."

Dr. Stillé soon discovered that he could accomplish no more as Provost than as professor. In either office he stood merely on "certain personal relations with some members of the Board which enabled him to enlist their active sympathy with his plans." But he did not discover this at first; he threw himself with zeal into the plan of reform, and in his inaugural address, at the Academy of Music,[2] made an eloquent appeal for the establishment of a scientific school and for its liberal endowment as a distinct department of the University.

The committee appointed by the Board to consider the purchase of a new site for the University reported favorably

[1] Reminiscences of a Provost, pp. 19–20.

[2] September 30, 1868.

at the October meeting, and a petition was presented in Select Council in December, 1868, that the city should sell at a nominal price twenty or twenty-five acres of the Almshouse Farm to the University. After many months' delay the Joint Committee on Conference reported an ordinance for the sale of nearly twenty acres of the property at eight thousand dollars an acre, but more than this the committee would not advise. In Common Council the ordinance passed on May 13, 1869, without opposition, but it encountered a far different fate in the higher branch. Not until November 25, and after a series of dilatory tactics had been resorted to, did the Select Council pass the measure, amending the price to fifteen thousand dollars an acre, and cutting down the area from nineteen acres to ten. The Common Council restored the former price on December 19, and in this form the Select Council concurred on the same day. The long fight was over. The Mayor, Daniel M. Fox, signed the bill, and, though the University had not obtained just what it had sought, it had secured far more than the promoters of the ordinance imagined—an educational opportunity.[1] "I never engaged in so wearisome and thankless a task," wrote Dr. Stillé, "and nothing but a perfect conviction of the greatness of the interests at stake induced me to persevere in the work. Both Mr. Welsh and Mr. Browne gave me most valuable aid, but none of the Trustees and not a single one of the professors showed the slightest practical interest in the success of the measure."[2] Its opponents, having no sympathy with the University or its aims, argued that the city ought

[1] For the text of the ordinance see Provost Pepper's Report, October, 1892–June, 1894, pp. 49–51.

[2] Reminiscences of a Provost, p. 23.

not to part with the property for a sum so much below its market value, and they did not hesitate to make the suggestion that the advocates of the measure were personally interested in some financial scheme underlying the whole transaction. Dr. Stillé was learning that the path of the reformer and public benefactor is not strewn with thornless roses.

About the time when Mayor Fox signed the deed, Mr. Welsh went as Minister to England, and was absent nearly a year and a half, but before he left, the Trustees had taken up the question of erecting the new buildings. Mr. Richards, the teacher of drawing in the University, prepared plans, which, much bereft of their beauty, were ultimately adopted. No one took Mr. Welsh's place in the work of securing an endowment fund, and during his absence not a penny was raised. In spite of this the Board was strongly in favor of entering into contracts for the erection of the new buildings at once, and "it was proposed to find the money for this purpose by mortgaging the real estate of the University."[1] The Provost opposed this policy as suicidal, but the Trustees held to the view that the best way to increase the fund was to erect the buildings, and thus to satisfy the public that they were in earnest. Just at this time the man on whom the Provost relied to build up the proposed Department of Sciences, Dr. Wetherill, Professor of Chemistry in Lehigh University, died, and there seemed no one to take his place. "But this severe blow to all our plans," as Dr. Stillé expressed it, "seemed less severe to me than a project to which the Trustees at this time gave their sanction—to raise an endowment fund to establish and maintain a Uni-

[1] Reminiscences of a Provost, p. 25.

versity Hospital." It was with this hospital fund, as has been seen, that the public labors of Dr. Pepper began.

Provost Stillé resented the action of the Board respecting the proposed hospital fund because he believed that it would be impossible to raise two endowment funds of half a million each—one for the University as a whole, the other for a single department. The contributors, he believed, must necessarily be the same people, and to attempt to raise a million dollars in Philadelphia for the University seemed to him both unwise and hopeless. The determination of the Board to contract a debt for the erection of the building without making provision to meet the implied obligation, and the absorption of the University endowment fund by the friends of the proposed University Hospital, made the future prospects, in his opinion, dismal enough. Partly to prevent disaster, he at this time proposed that the Provost should be made President of the Board of Trustees, thus making the office like that held by the Presidents of Harvard, Yale, and Princeton. The Trustees were disposed to favor this change till it was discovered that the Medical Faculty opposed it, on the ground that with the Provost as the head that Faculty would lose its ancient independence. Moreover, it was understood that Dr. George B. Wood, who, it was expected, would leave a large estate to the University, would be displeased if the change was made. These reasons and others led the Board in 1871 to reject the proposition. On Mr. Welsh's return he found that the corner-stone of the new building had been laid in June, and that the Board was engaged in erecting expensive buildings with borrowed money. He at once resumed his efforts to raise an endowment, and with some success; but he was most helpful to the University in projecting and completing the sale, in

July, 1872, of the University property at Ninth and Chestnut Streets to the Government of the United States as a site for the new post-office. Thus the Board was unexpectedly provided with money with which to erect the new buildings in West Philadelphia. In September these were dedicated and the University began a new life amidst new surroundings. The institution was free from debt and the outlook was hopeful. The enrolment of students in the new quarters increased nearly a hundred per cent. in the year 1872–'3, but the running expenses increased in the new plant and exceeded the current income. If the half million endowment fund could be secured the institution could meet its annual expenses. The funds at hand were soon exhausted and the Trustees borrowed one hundred and fifty thousand dollars to complete the erection of the Medical Hall.

On June 1, 1875, the Towne Scientific School was established, and during the year instruction in some of the laboratories and in social science, history, and English was declared open to both sexes. Two years later the Charitable Schools, established in 1753, and carried on at Fourth Street, near Arch, were discontinued by the Trustees, who provided, as an equivalent, gratuitous instruction in the University out of its trust funds.[1]

Meanwhile the debt continued to increase. From 1868 to 1883 the University received $580,500 in money gifts, wholly in the College Department; but in spite of this help the debt, in 1880, was about $450,000, and the future gave promise of its increase. For several years the relations between Provost Stillé and the Board of Trustees had been

[1] For a history of these schools see "Benjamin Franklin and the University of Pennsylvania," *passim*.

strained, and the differences between them culminated over a matter of college discipline. On January 30, 1880, he resigned,[1] having filled the office of Provost twelve years. It has been said of him that no man since William Smith brought into the office of Provost such energy, such zeal for the promotion of the interest of the University and the intellectual life of the community in which it was situated; and that no man had a clearer idea of what a university should be, or ever labored more faithfully or earnestly to achieve his ideals.[2] The retirement of Dr. Stillé made necessary the selection of his successor, and in looking about for him the attention of the Board was drawn, by the force of events as well as by the evidence of extraordinary executive capacity, to Dr. Pepper.

Provost Stillé, in his letter of resignation, sent to the Trustees January 30, 1880, complained that the real difficulty at the University was its lack of a "Head or President, of any kind, with official duties and legal rights, or powers. Our government is a government of committees, and no wonder it is a failure, for no one ever heard of any corporation whose affairs were successfully conducted under such an organization." He described himself as a Provost "without a vote and without any official authority or influence whatever,—that strange nondescript in college organization, an 'organ of communication' between six Faculties and the Board." He had learned, after twelve years' experience as Provost, "that personal kindness should not be the motive power in conducting the affairs of the University." No improvement, he said, was to be looked for until the

[1] Letter of resignation in Reminiscences of a Provost, pp. 49–54.

[2] Benjamin Franklin and the University of Pennsylvania, p. 23.

charter was so revised that the Provost should become *ex officio* the Head or President of the corporation, and the line of division between the powers of the Board and the Faculties be more clearly marked than it had been.[1] "The business of the University," continued he, "its sole business, is to teach, and for that purpose six different departments, containing more than a thousand students, each under the charge of a distinct Faculty, have been organized. Its machinery should be confided to trained and skilful hands alone. The business—the sole business of the Board of Trustees—the reason for which it was created—is to adopt such measures as shall promote this mode of teaching and render it in the highest degree efficient."[2]

The system prevailing at the University had grown up with it and had survived its usefulness. Every member of the Board was familiar with the great defects in the organization of the school. Dr. Stillé had very positive notions of the powers of the ideal Provost, and in his letter of resignation made them clear to the Trustees. Read in the light of the career of his successor, his description of the ideal Provost runs like a prophecy. "We need," said he, "not merely constant and intelligent supervision of the work of the different Faculties, but also that active encouragement and sympathy with improvements whenever suggested which shall aid and support every project which may promise to enlarge the sphere or add to the reputation of the University. We need for these purposes the wisest and best-trained head that can be found, for there is no more difficult work than that of University organization and management; some one whose daily familiarity with the work of all the Faculties

[1] Reminiscences of a Provost, p. 50. [2] Id.

shall give him a special aptitude for ascertaining what is needed, and who shall afterward utilize that knowledge by urging with authority on the Board the adoption of measures, with such an official guarantee of their propriety as the Board may depend upon. Further than this, we need some man whose special business it shall be to make himself familiar with all that is going on in the world of education, and with judgment clear enough to decide how far any changes successfully tried elsewhere may safely be introduced here. We need a man with a mind always open to new views, and with a well-defined policy on the general subject of University education, who shall take the initiative in suggesting new plans, or improvements in old ones, to the Board, and who may act in that body as one who speaks with authority. We shall never succeed as other institutions have done until we find a man whom we shall recognize as an organizer, a leader whom we shall trust, because we know he has been especially trained, and that he will give all his energy and capacity to the work in which he is engaged."[1]

A few days before sending his letter of resignation he submitted to the Trustees a statement of a plan of reorganization which, he said, "is essential, if any future Provost is expected to perform the duties of the office with credit to himself and with advantage to the University in its present critical condition." The substance of his plan was so to revise the charter that the Provost should become *ex officio* a Trustee, President of the Board, and chairman of all the Faculties, thus occupying the position at Pennsylvania which the Presidents of Harvard and Yale held in their

[1] Reminiscences of a Provost, p. 51.

own colleges. This suggestion he had made as early as February, 1871. The Trustees should provide for the extinguishment of the debt, and until this should be paid and the Collegiate Department should become self-sustaining, no new undertaking involving an outlay of money should be attempted.[1]

These wise suggestions, upon the execution of which the future of the University may be said to have depended, emanated from a man who did not sufficiently possess the confidence of the Board of Trustees to be entrusted with the duty of carrying them out. Had he possessed as much tact as learning, doubtless he would have been the first man thought of by the Board to inaugurate and carry out these reforms. When he was elected Provost in 1868, the condition of the University, as he relates in his Reminiscences, was somewhat discouraging. The reforms which he immediately inaugurated—the extension of the curriculum, the removal of the University to West Philadelphia, and the establishment of the Towne Scientific School in 1872[2]—have already been related. In 1877 the Department of Music was organized and in the following year the Dental School. The University Hospital, with whose origin and organization Dr. Stillé had little sympathy, had been added during his term.

The corporation at the time of his resignation was housed in four buildings of serpentine stone on Woodland Avenue and Spruce Street: the College Hall, the Medical Hall, the Dental Building, and the Hospital. The campus was as yet unimproved and presented to the eye a dreary waste, sug-

[1] Reminiscences of a Provost, pp. 55–58.

[2] The Auxiliary Faculty of Medicine was organized in 1875.

gesting greater poverty than the Treasurer's books really showed. During the last year of Provost Stillé's term, there were nine hundred and seventy-two students in attendance at the University, taught by ninety-seven professors and instructors. Of the Faculty, forty-seven were in the Medical School, twenty-three in the Dental, twenty-two in the College, and five in the Law School.

Of the students, four hundred and thirty-six were enrolled in the Medical School, two hundred and eighty-seven in the College, one hundred and forty in the Law School, and one hundred and nine in the Dental School. During Provost Stillé's administration the number of professors and instructors had increased from twenty-six to ninety-seven, and the number of students from six hundred to nine hundred and seventy-two. The Medical School had maintained an annual attendance of four hundred and thirty, but the Law School had increased from seventy to one hundred and forty students. The Dental School, organized in his time, had immediately sprung into public favor, and at the time of his resignation had about one hundred students. Passing over the curriculum with the remark that it then compared favorably with that of other collegiate institutions in America, it must be said that the University at the time of Provost Stillé's resignation, in spite of its relatively heavy debt and its forlorn appearance, was in a more prosperous condition than at any earlier time in its history.

Dr. Pepper's nomination was unexpected. He seems to have been thought of, as a possible Provost, only a few days before he was nominated. At this distance in time the selection seems the logical one for the Trustees to make. One has only to read the record of his services to the University down to the hour of his nomination to discover the deep

interest which he took in its welfare. The letter written by Mr. John Welsh to Dr. Pepper in 1878[1] exemplifies the confidence which eminent men in Philadelphia had in his ability to accomplish large undertakings; and looking back over these early records they seem to warrant the assertion that he was the natural successor to Provost Stillé.

The confidence reposed in Dr. Pepper by the Trustees was shared by the public, and he was the recipient of many congratulatory letters intimating that his acceptance of the appointment signified that the University had entered upon a new era.

His election, which occurred January 12, 1881, was unanimous.[2] To the committee of the Board appointed to notify him he sent the following letter of acceptance:

"I had the honor of receiving to-day a sub-committee, composed of Messrs. Rogers, Merrick, and Mitchell, who informed me of my unanimous election as Provost of the University of Pennsylvania.

"They informed me at the same time that the Board of Trustees had made certain modifications in the duties and powers of the Provost, and also had enlarged the discipline and supervisory functions of the respective Faculties.

"While rejoicing at what appears a marked improvement in the organization of the University, I am highly gratified at finding that these changes render it possible for me, while continuing to hold my chair in the Medical Department and to pursue the practice of my profession, to accept the important post to which I have been elected.

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[1] See page 76, *supra*.

[2] In his address at the memorial meeting in the Chapel (see account later) Dr. Weir Mitchell referred to the fact that the Provostship was offered to Rev. Phillips Brooks in 1880, who declined it. He also intimated that it was offered to himself.

"I shall esteem it the highest honor and privilege to be able to serve the University in this capacity, and I earnestly trust, with the cordial co-operation of the Board of Trustees and of the various Faculties, the general welfare and the efficiency of the administration may continue unabated.

"I have the honor to remain, your obedient servant,

"WILLIAM PEPPER."

The nature of the changes in University organization made at this time may be gathered from the following statement. By its charter the Governor of the Commonwealth is *ex officio* President of its Board of Trustees, but the absorbing nature of his other official duties had for many years so interfered with his functions as a member of this Board that he had never taken a seat at any of its meetings. The great change in the statutes consisted in making the Provost President *pro tempore* of the Board, with the duty of presiding at all of its meetings and of appointing all committees, excepting that on Ways and Means, which is elected. Thus, one part, and a very important one, in Dr. Stillé's proposed reforms was carried out, and the Provost became the chief executive of the institution. He was brought into intimate relations with the Trustees in the transaction of all business and became *ex officio* a member of all the Faculties and chairman of all their committees. In brief, he was made "the representative of the entire University in its relations with the community, and must explain and advocate the various educational movements initiated. Standing between the Trustees and the Faculties, he must in a peculiar sense, and despite the vast importance of the committees of the Board and of the newly developed Deanships, possess the confidence of the Board, the Faculties, and the Alumni as a fair and impartial administra-

tor, whose sole object is the welfare of the institution over which he is called to preside."[1]

From the time of Dr. Pepper's inauguration as Provost, the educational interests of Philadelphia—and, it may be said, of the adjoining States also—entered upon a new, a more prosperous era. The great and beneficial changes wrought during that era comprise, in large measure, the academic services of Dr. Pepper himself during the remaining years of his life. To him the University was a beloved child whose promise of power and goodness awakened lofty hopes and stirred to their depths the fountains of parental affection.

The new Provost was inaugurated on February 22, 1881. The ceremonies were attended by the officers of the University, by the presidents of six universities and colleges,[2] and by many eminent citizens of the State and city. The Governor of Pennsylvania, Honorable Henry M. Hoyt, *ex officio* President of the Board of Trustees, presented the keys of the University to Dr. Pepper, who then delivered an inaugural address.

He urged that the school be made a university whose courses should offer instruction in all the arts and sciences, and that in this sense it should become "a national institution." At this time the question of co-education was under discussion among American teachers. Concerning the question at the University Provost Pepper said: "Beyond dispute the co-education of the sexes is inadmissible. But the University should co-operate with efforts to secure facilities for the

[1] The Scope of the University, by Provost Pepper, in Benjamin Franklin and the University of Pennsylvania. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1893, p. 211.

[2] Harvard, Union, Lehigh, Stevens Institute of Technology, Swarthmore, Haverford.

education of women," and again he observed that the higher education of women at the University ought not to be neglected. He urged two things at this time,—the admission of the Alumni to representation in the Board of Trustees, and the erection of a new library building. He announced the gift by Mr. Joseph Wharton, of Philadelphia, of an endowment for a new department in the University, to be known as the Wharton School. The degree of Doctor of Laws was conferred on James Abram Garfield, President-elect of the United States, and the ceremonies closed with a benediction by the Right Reverend William Bacon Stevens, Bishop of Pennsylvania.

The inauguration was not regarded as an important event in the educational life of the country. It was a local affair, and stands in marked contrast to the ceremonies connected with Dr. Pepper's resignation from the Provostship thirteen years later, which were viewed by the public as a matter of extraordinary interest.

II

THE UNIVERSITY

1881–1884

DR. PEPPER'S inauguration, in February, 1881, occurred too near the close of the academic session to allow him to do more than bring the year's work to a respectable ending, but he immediately instituted reforms and began several large movements, of which it is not necessary to speak in strict order of time. They are best viewed in their aggregate results. When the University acquired its original site of ten acres in West Philadelphia, its friends congratulated themselves that it had acquired ample room for future growth; but before Dr. Stillé's resignation it was realized that, owing to the rapid increase "in the number of students in the various departments, and the organization of new departments, and the consequent necesssity for the erection of new buildings, the original purchase had become entirely inadequate." Dr. Pepper immediately initiated a movement for an enlargement of the property, and application was made to the city of Philadelphia for a sufficient amount of land belonging to the Blockley Farm, which the city had power to dispose of by a special ordinance upon suitable conditions, to enable the University to carry out its improvements and to accommodate its future growth. In January, 1882, this application was sent to the Councils by the Mayor, Samuel J. King, with a message urging its importance. On the twenty-fourth of the month Mayor King had the pleasure of approving an ordinance by which nearly seventeen acres of land,

a part of Blockley Farm, were conveyed to the Trustees of the University, subject to a ground-rent to the city of five thousand dollars a year, and to the further condition that they should establish and forever maintain at least fifty free scholarships of an annual value of no less than seventy-five hundred dollars, "to be awarded, under such conditions as may from time to time be deemed suitable, to worthy and deserving students of the public schools of Philadelphia;" further, that the land should never be alienated without the consent of the city, and that no buildings other than for educational purposes should ever be erected upon it.[1] Four days later the conditions attached to the ordinance were unanimously accepted by the Board, and suitable by-laws were adopted establishing the scholarships. Speaking of this, Provost Pepper observed: "By this wise legislation the city of Philadelphia has secured in perpetuity educational advantages of the highest value for classes of the community which furnish students for the public schools, while it has placed the University in the position to carry out wide-reaching plans which will inure to the lasting benefit of the city." By the new acquisition of land the University now possessed twenty-seven acres, "an extent of territory," continued Dr. Pepper, "which will probably suffice for all purposes for a considerable number of years."

Of almost equal importance to the welfare of the University was the action of City Councils, July 6, 1883, in response to a movement begun by Dr. Pepper, by which it was ordered that all that portion of the Almshouse grounds between the University and the Schuylkill River should be reserved for

[1] The ordinance is given in the Provost's Report, June, 1894, pp. 53–55.

improvement as a public park.[1] Dr. Pepper's far-reaching designs were not commonly understood at the time of the passage of this ordinance; what those designs were will later appear. At the time of the ordinance he explained "that this action was imperatively demanded in the interest of the health of the community, that an extensive stretch of river front should be secured against pollution." But much more was involved than many supposed, although he was never able to carry through the great movement which he had in mind.[2] What that movement was is clear enough from the following: "Incidentally," said he, "it will prove advan-

[1] For the ordinance, see Provost's Report, 1894, p. 56.

[2] This was the removal of the Almshouse to a suitable site outside of the city, the separation of the sane and the insane paupers, and the erection of a model Municipal Hospital on the old site of Blockley. This gigantic undertaking was the only very large enterprise undertaken by Dr. Pepper (which occupied him more or less for the last thirty years of his life) in the execution of which he was baffled. The subject will occur repeatedly through this volume, as its interests were interwoven with the other public interests. When he became Provost he entered vigorously upon this great reform, the first step in which was to secure the Blockley Farm through an act of City Councils against dismemberment for private uses.

He began the movement for hospital reform in Philadelphia in 1866, when, as chairman of the Medical Board of the Philadelphia Hospital, he addressed a long communication to the Hospital Committee [Pepper MSS.], urging important and necessary changes in the management. From the time of his appointment as visiting physician to Blockley in the following year (May 4, 1867), he entered more zealously upon the almost hopeless task of securing reforms in that institution, and he was engaged upon these at the time of his death.

tageous to the University, and when the further proposed changes are effected, including the removal of the Almshouse to a distant site," improvements in the institution could be carried out which would make it creditable to a city of the size and wealth of Philadelphia.

In June, 1882, the free scholarships were filled for the first time by award upon competitive examination to graduates of the Philadelphia High School. By the establishing of these scholarships the city schools and the University were brought for the first time into academic relation, and that sympathy and mutual efficiency begun which have strengthened both bodies ever since. The innovation was of critical importance, for it marked the time when the University ceased to be an isolated institution in the midst of a populous community. Another reform which Dr. Pepper inaugurated was an amendment of the requirements for admission to the University, which went into effect at the examination in June, 1884. It was the first step towards uniformity in admission among the leading colleges of the country and speedily bore fruit in the preparatory schools. He increased the requirements for admission to the Department of Arts and also advanced the standard in the Towne Scientific School. Persons familiar with the educational history of the country will remember that about this time[1] the question of elective courses was still under vigorous discussion in all quarters. In the solution of this grave problem Dr. Pepper pursued from the outset a conservative course. The next decade, be thought, would give ample opportunity for observing the results of the elective system, but he did not favor its introduction into the University. It appeared to

[1] During the years 1880–1884.

him that the great results sought—namely, the systematic training and development of the intellectual power of the student, and the acquisition of useful knowledge—would best be secured "by maintaining a suitable number of parallel courses of study, each of which contained in varying proportions the necessary subjects,—Mathematics, History, Languages (Ancient and Modern), English Literature, Chemistry, and Physics; and allowing each student to select no such isolated subjects of study as he might prefer,—a preference often dictated by indolence,—but rather one of the groups of subjects, or parallel courses, which will most directly bear upon the future occupation for which he is destined." In harmony with this decision, the University for the first time, in 1882–3, offered its courses in four groups: first, the regular Classical course; second, a modification of the Classical course with the substitution of Biological studies during the last two years; third, the Scientific course in the Towne School; and fourth, the course in the Wharton School in Finance and Economy. In practice this amounted to nine elective courses, "each of which," said he, "contains a suitable combination of the necessary elements of a profitable education." It was at this time, also, that a controversy was resumed which was raging in the University in Franklin's time, over the relative advantages of the ancient and modern languages as instruments of instruction. Dr. Pepper's solution of the question was the offer of elective courses, carefully grouped in such manner that the student would obtain results of equal educational value whether he pursued the Classical group, or the Scientific group with a complement of Modern Languages.

By extending the course in the Towne Scientific School to five years, graduates were thenceforth enabled to receive,

in addition to the degree of Bachelor of Science, the professional degree of Civil Engineer, Mechanical Engineer, or Mining Engineer, according to the special elective course which they had pursued.

Dr. Stillé had lamented, in his time, the hopeless isolation of the several University Faculties. In March, 1883, Dr. Pepper's plan of academic reorganization was adopted by the Board provisionally, by which all the instructors in the University were constituted one Faculty, subdivided into six groups: the College Faculty, the Faculties of Medicine, of Law, of Dentistry, of Science Auxiliary to Medicine, and of Philosophy. Each Faculty was presided over by a Dean and was served by a Secretary.

Prior to the removal of the University to West Philadelphia, the students, with the exception of those in the Medical School, were drawn almost exclusively from Philadelphia. In 1883, Dr. Pepper noted that with each year since his accession to the Provostship the area from which the students came had varied and increased, and that the time could not be distant when the College Department would acquire the national reputation so long enjoyed by the Medical School. Unfortunately for the University, even at the time of the new Provost's first report, many citizens of Philadelphia preferred to send their sons to other Universities, and this current, long setting away from Philadelphia, has never been stopped; though long before Dr. Pepper's retirement from the Provostship it had fallen away until it had become a relatively slender stream. He was looking forward, in 1883, to the time in the near future when the City of Philadelphia would be represented by no less than one thousand students in the College Department alone; but this expectation was not realized in his day.

A feature of special interest in connection with the instruction in the college at this time was a course of lectures on Surgical Emergencies, given by Dr. J. William White, which had been originally intended only for the engineering sections of the senior classes in the Towne School, but, proving highly attractive, had been opened to the entire senior class. This innovation was the beginning of that long list of special lectures fostered each year by the University since this time. The Wharton School, the founding of which Dr. Pepper had been able to announce at his inaugural, after running an experimental course for nearly two years, was reorganized and its Faculty strengthened by the election of new men destined to add lustre to the University. The Wharton School was founded "To provide for young men special means of training and of accurate instruction in the knowledge and in the arts of modern finance and economy, both public and private, in order that, being well informed and free from delusions upon these important subjects, they may either serve the community skilfully as well as faithfully in offices of trust, or, remaining in private life, may prudently manage their own affairs and aid in maintaining sound financial morality—in short, to establish means for imparting a liberal education in all matters concerning finance and economy."[1]

It was about this time that interest in the subjects of American history, political economy, finance, and social science was awakened in the leading schools of the country, which soon, and for the first time, established co-ordinate courses of instruction in these studies. The remarkable strengthening which these departments have since received in

[1] Benjamin Franklin and the University of Pennsylvania, p. 320.

the form of endowments and in the attendance of students confirms the wisdom of their originators and founders.

It will be remembered that in his celebrated medical address of 1877 Dr. Pepper had urged several far-reaching reforms in medical instruction. He was able in his first report as Provost to announce an extension of the course in the Medical School from October 1 to April 15. "This is a further step in the right direction," said he, "but it will not suffice; it will doubtless be found practicable ere long to make the length of the medical session the same as that of the College Department." The significance of this statement may be missed unless it is remembered that at the time it was made there were several medical schools in the United States in which the annual course did not reach ten weeks. "The earnest and successful student of medicine," he continued, "must now devote his whole time for three years to acquiring the knowledge of his profession, and there is no longer any valid reason for interrupting the regular session of our medical colleges in March or April. The spring course of lectures, provided for those who choose to attend them voluntarily, constitutes but a specious and inadequate substitute for the valuable months of regular study they pretend to replace."

The number of graduates of other schools who were attending the Medical School at this time had greatly increased, and to provide suitable instruction for them Dr. Pepper announced that a voluntary fourth year had been established, which, it was expected, would not only afford physicians the practical facilities they desired, but would induce many graduates, who were not successful in securing hospital appointments, and who were able to continue their professional training, "to remain and perfect themselves in various practical branches and to make original scientific investigations." This proved

to be the entering wedge to the extension of the medical course to four years. In addition to this voluntary fourth year, the Medical School now provided short courses of practical study for graduates. Until about this time post-graduate medical instruction could be secured only in Europe. Dr. Pepper was anxious to provide facilities for such instruction at the University.

He announced the completion of the pavilion for chronic diseases in connection with the University Hospital, erected through the liberality of Henry C. Gibson, Esq., at a cost of sixty-five thousand dollars. This munificent foundation was due primarily and almost wholly to the interest which Dr. Pepper himself had been able to awaken in Mr. Gibson. The plans were furnished by Dr. John S. Billings, U. S. A., afterwards Professor of Hygiene and Director of the University Hospital.[1] The demands upon the University Hospital had far exceeded its capacity, and its expenses were now annually larger than its income. By admirable management its Board had by personal effort kept the deficit to a minimum, but the burden could not much longer be borne, and Dr. Pepper appealed to the Trustees of the University for aid in securing an adequate endowment. The Auxiliary Department of Medicine, endowed by the distinguished Dr. George B. Wood, on account of the extension of the session of the Medical Department, was reorganized, and the lectures on some scientific subjects, particularly botany, mineralogy, and geology, given in the Towne Scientific School, were declared open to its students. The reorganization consisted, in substance, in co-ordinating the lectures in the College and in the Auxiliary Department of Medicine.

[1] See p. 132, ante.

The Faculty of the Dental School had been strengthened during the year by the election of Dr. James Truman as Professor of Dental Pathology and Therapeutical Materia Medica, and its session had been prolonged in the same degree as that of the Medical Department. The Provost made a vigorous plea for the dental profession, urging that entrance to it should be guarded by the same restrictions, and the attainments of its graduates should be of the same varied and elevated character, as prevailed in medical schools of the highest rank, and he urged upon the Trustees the adequate financial support of this important department.

The Law Department of the University, established in 1789 under the direction of Mr. Justice Wilson, of the Supreme Court of the United States, ran a brief career—one session—and then expired; and not until 1817 was any further effort made to give instruction in law in the University. On March 20, of that year, Charles Willing Hare, of the Philadelphia Bar, was elected Professor of Law, but, like Mr. Justice Wilson, he lectured for only one year, when, for a second time, the instruction came to an end. It was not until 1850, on April 2, that another effort was made to inaugurate a Law School, and Judge George Sharswood, of Philadelphia, was elected Professor of Law. On September 30, following, he delivered his introductory lecture. In 1852 the Trustees re-established the Law School with a Faculty of three professors, and it entered upon a more prosperous career. By a rule of court, adopted in 1875, its graduates were admitted to practice in the District Court of Philadelphia. In 1883 the school enrolled one hundred and twenty-five students, a small attendance, if one consider the possibilities of a flourishing university located in a great city like Philadelphia.

Dr. Pepper recognized at once the difficulties which encompassed the school, and clearly pointed out perhaps the chief of them, in his first report as Provost:

"It is not a creditable state of affairs that this Department should continue as it is at present, the only one in the University for which no endowment or building fund has been provided; and that it should be left to the unaided efforts of its Faculty to maintain and increase its efficiency. In a city where for so long a time the legal profession has occupied a commanding position in point of learning, public spirit, and wealth, there should certainly be found those who will see that this Law School is adequately endowed."

This was the first direct appeal for the erection of a separate building for the use of the Law School.

The whole subject of veterinary science was of interest to Dr. Pepper, because of his familiarity with the services of Dr. Benjamin Rush. As early as 1806 the Agricultural Society of Philadelphia had offered a gold medal "for the best essay and plan for promoting veterinary knowledge and instruction both scientifically and practically;" and on November 2, 1807, Dr. Rush delivered in the University, as the introduction of his course on "The Institution and Practice of Medicine," a lecture upon the "Duties and Advantages of Studying the Diseases of Domestic Animals and the Remedies Proper to Remove Them," which was reprinted in the "Memoirs of the Philadelphia Agricultural Society."[1] After explaining the importance of the subject and alluding to the fact that no veterinary school had been established in the United States, Dr. Rush concluded with the following words: "I have lived to see the Medical School of Phila-

[1] Vol. I., 1808, p. 49.

delphia emerge from small beginnings and gradually advance to its present flourishing condition, but I am not yet satisfied with its prosperity and fame, nor shall I be so until I see the veterinary science taught in our University."

Dr. Pepper now took up Rush's idea and urged the establishing of a Department of Veterinary Medicine.

"One of the characteristic features of the present age," said he, "springing from its vigorous humanizing spirit, is the large share of attention that is paid to improving the condition of the lower animals upon the ground of sound commercial policy, and it is desirable that careful study be given to the best means of promoting their health and comfort."

In conformity to these humane ideas, the Board of Trustees, on November 14, 1882, through the efforts of Dr. Pepper, were enabled to announce the establishment of a special Department of Veterinary Medicine; and Dr. Rush Shippen Huidekoper was elected Professor of Veterinary Anatomy and Pathology. A building admirably adapted for the School had been erected during the year at a cost of seventeen thousand dollars. This was the first building added to the University during Dr. Pepper's Provostship.

Thus after an interval of seventy-five years from the time when Dr. Rush made his memorable address, his wish that a School of Veterinary Medicine be established in the University was realized. Twenty thousand dollars, Dr. Pepper announced, had already been given towards the endowment, which, he said, should not be less than two hundred thousand, and he intimated the source from which the remainder must be obtained,—that the very large number of persons who are interested in the full success of this important movement must contribute freely in order to secure this result.

Until Dr. Pepper's accession to the Provostship the University had concerned itself but little in the wants of advanced students.

"Yet it is clear," said he, "that one of the most important functions of the University is to provide every possible accommodation for such students as are desirous of pursuing their investigations far beyond the limits of the ordinary college curriculum. The presence of even a limited number exercises an admirable influence upon the entire University and tends to elevate the standard of scholarship and impart earnestness to the general body of students."

Acting upon this conviction, he had urged the establishment of a Faculty of Philosophy "which should supervise and conduct special advanced instruction in a special number of subjects," and on November 14, 1882, the Trustees authorized its organization.

The conditions preliminary to receiving the degree of Doctor of Philosophy fixed at this time were easy and were not wholly satisfactory to the University Faculty at the time, but a beginning had been made. The candidate was required to pursue three subjects, one of which should be the major, or principal subject.[1] He urged "the necessity of establishing a number of endowed scholarships and fellowships in connection with the various departments of the University," the first movement in this direction in its history, and, as was characteristic with him in all his enter-

[1] The subjects at this time were Mathematics, Zoology, Geology, Political and Social Science, Inorganic Chemistry, Physics, Law, Mineralogy, Music, Botany, Organic Chemistry, and Philology. Provost's Report, 1883, App. IV.

prises, he led the movement by endowing three scholarships, December 12, 1882, "with the condition that they bear the name of the Benjamin Franklin Scholarships, in honor of one of the most eminent of those who have labored earnestly to advance the interests of the University."[1] He urged the establishment of Fellowships in the Department of Philosophy which should yield no less than four hundred dollars a year, giving as his reason:

"It must be remembered that a considerable proportion of those who are best qualified or desire to pursue advanced studies or to enter upon original investigation after the completion of their ordinary college course, are possessed of but limited resources, which have been already heavily taxed. The interests of education, science, literature, and therefore, of course, of the entire community, alike suffer from the enforced diversion of these gifts of these workers from their proper field."

In order to strengthen the University with its Alumni, he had urged, soon after his election as Provost, a plan for the organization of a Central Committee of the Alumni, which should represent the several departments of the University and itself be represented upon the Board of Trustees. As it was inexpedient to change the University charter, the result sought was secured by the consent of the Board that every third vacancy in its membership should be filled by the appointment of a nominee of the committee of the Alumni. This committee sent four nominations to the Board for the purpose. The first appointment under this rule was that of

[1] Toward this endowment he donated ten thousand dollars. It was his first large contribution, it is believed, to the College Department, and was increased many times by him during his provostship.

George Tucker Bispham, Esq., elected to fill the vacancy caused by the death of Chief Justice George Sharswood.[1]

About the time of Dr. Pepper's entrance upon the office of Provost the subject of college athletics was attracting its first public interest. He clearly foresaw that it was destined to be one of permanent interest in college life, and he determined to take the initiative and direct the course of this new force. The result was the organization, May 14, 1883, of the Department of Physical Culture. This was the first recognition of the Athletic Association by the authorities of the University.[2] His plan provided for the election of a Director of Physical Training, who should be a member of the College Faculty. "The organization of an Athletic Association, composed of matriculates and graduates; the erection of suitable buildings for physical education, and the construction and laying out of a running-track, base-ball, foot-ball, cricket, and tennis grounds upon the portion of the University land designated for this purpose; and the appointment of an additional standing committee of the Board of Trustees to act in an advisory capacity in connection with the Board of Directors of the Athletic Association in all matters pertaining to its general control and interest." It was planned at this time that the new Department of Physical Training would be in full operation by the spring of 1884.

[1] July 3, 1883. For the Resolutions of the Central Committee of the Alumni, December 3, 1881, its plan of organization, etc., see Provost's Report, 1883, pp. 59, 64. The Central Committee of the Alumni proved itself a failure,—a fact often admitted by Dr. Pepper. Its members appear to have lacked the energy to accomplish any definite results, and to have confined themselves to criticism.

[2] Provost's Report, 1883, p. 45; App. VI.

He announced in this report the gift of sixty thousand dollars, by his cousin, the late Henry Seybert, Esq., to endow the Chair of Intellectual and Moral Philosophy, to be known as the Adam Seybert Chair, with his request that the incumbent should, with a specially appointed committee, investigate all systems of morals, religions, or philosophy which assumed to represent the truth, and especially the subject of modern spiritualism.[1]

At the banquet tendered by the Provost and Board of Trustees of the University of Pennsylvania to Lord Chief Justice Coleridge, in the University Chapel, in October, 1883, Dr. Pepper, on introducing the distinguished jurist, utilized the opportunity to speak of education in general and of the University of Pennsylvania in particular:

"In these latter days we have grown familiar with the prompt and liberal response which surely follows any strong appeal from either section of our great English-speaking race across the ocean to their kinsmen. And it seems to us the surest omen of the continued spread of peace, of civilization, and of liberal government over the entire world that this sympathy and sense of kinship do thus grow stronger and closer. But it is pleasant to turn back and find that when, in 1762, the College out of which this University

[1] It has already been noted that the bonded debt of the University at the time of Dr. Pepper's induction into the office of Provost was about four hundred and fifty thousand dollars ($445,489.86). In 1873 the annual deficit was thirty thousand dollars; in 1883 it had fallen to sixteen thousand dollars ($16,238.37). The bonded debt was the accumulation of repeated deficiencies, running over a long term of years, and was in the form of mortgage bonds issued by the University. After deducting this debt, the value of the University property, clear of all encumbrance, at this time was two and one-quarter millions ($2,241,914.76).

has grown, and which was the last of six in this country which received royal charters previous to the Revolution, was greatly in need of funds, Dr. William Smith, the first Provost, was sent by the Trustees to enlist the sympathy of the mother country in the efforts made here to encourage the prosecution of the higher learning."

"A Royal Brief was issued by the King, recommending that his subjects should contribute to the endowment of this College as well as that of King's College (now Columbia College) in New York, in behalf of which Dr. Jay had gone to England. The result was that in a comparatively short time a sum was raised which was truly vast for those days, for the share which came to this institution was nearly 7,000 pounds sterling, made up by the contributions of no less than 12,000 persons of all classes, from the King himself down to his humblest subjects. This money constituted the first permanent endowment of this University, and, although great things have been done since then to enlarge her sphere, although princely gifts have since been received (and from some of those who either themselves or in the persons of their descendants are present at our table to-night), we should be ungrateful indeed, when such an opportunity as this offers itself for speaking of the debt which American scholars owe to Englishmen, did we not recall this noble instance of the liberality of those who despised not our day of small things.

"If time permitted, it would be interesting to allude to the strange vicissitudes of fortune which attended the early years of this University and checked the extraordinarily rapid growth it had made previous to the Revolution. But it is more important to point out the peculiarities of the development which has since occurred, and which is again bringing it rapidly to the front among our American colleges. Despite the strong imprint of the features of the Scotch universities stamped upon its early organization, its progress has been free from any servile imitation of these distinguished schools. Still less has it been found feasible or desirable

to attempt to follow the line of development which has rendered the great English Universities of Oxford and Cambridge so famous as centres of classical and mathematical learning. Peculiar conditions and influences, not easily appreciated at a distance, have led to the almost complete discontinuance of strictly professional teaching at Oxford and Cambridge. But certainly, when one reflects upon the large number of admirably equipped men who are at all times found in political life and in the learned professions in England, it may well be questioned whether any great change in these Universities in this respect would be advantageous under the social and political conditions of that country.

"With us, however, the mission of the University has been a different one, and in the case of most of our leading colleges a wise management has adapted the form and development of the institution to the public needs of the communities which were developing around them. The great and distinguishing feature of the universities, and that which separates them from technical schools, is their power of liberalizing and elevating the professions in this rapidly growing country, where it has been necessary for men to enter upon their active careers at a comparatively early age. It has been most fortunate that, while the Faculty of Arts has been maintained and expanded, the professional Schools of Law, of Medicine, and of Science have been preserved and vigorously supported. Thus it has resulted that our universities find themselves to-day more than ever in harmony with the entire community. While on the one hand they teach with increased thoroughness and efficiency those studies which, like the classics and higher mathematics, are chiefly valuable as a means of mental discipline and as a basis of future and riper scholarship, on the other they present as the natural sequence of the college course those professional studies which fit men for the most varied practical careers.

"It is thus that our universities escape the charge of tending to create an exclusive or aristocratic class; it is thus that they maintain their hold upon the affections of the people; and deriving their

entire support from the benefactions of the wealthy, they yield a rich return in the vigorous and elevating influence which they diffuse through every walk of life. I have called this University venerable, and I did so advisedly. It is not the oldest even of American colleges, and in comparison with the ancient and glorious Universities of Oxford or of Paris, our University seems, it is true, of but recent growth. But when we recall the wise and the learned who have graced her Faculties; the good, the brave, the illustrious among her sons; the long list of those who by their munificence or their devotion have advanced her interests; the far-spreading influence she has exerted throughout this country, and always in behalf of sound learning, of truth, and of progress, we do well to call her venerable, and to appeal to all who cherish these precious things to rally to her support, and to unite in enabling her to advance towards the completion of her mission.

"I have been carried far beyond the limits of my intended remarks. I rose to preface with a few words of explanation the toast I now propose on behalf of the University,—The health of the Right Honorable Lord Coleridge, the Lord Chief Justice of England."[1]

[1] Philadelphia *Evening Call*, Wednesday, October 17, 1883.

III

THE UNIVERSITY: EDUCATIONAL ADDRESS

1885–1886

IN the autumn of 1885 Dr. Pepper accepted the following invitation from the Faculty of Medicine of McGill University, Montreal:

"MONTREAL, September 22, 1885.

"We are just completing a new building in connection with our old one, in which we have large and convenient laboratories for the various departments of medicine, culture-rooms for the investigation of bacterial pathology, etc. We propose having a formal opening of the building to the public on Thursday, the 22d October next, and our Faculty has deputed me to request the Provost of the University of Pennsylvania to assist us on that occasion, and give a short address upon the value and importance of higher training in our medical schools and the advantages of combining a much larger amount of laboratory work with our didactic teaching.

"I know the numerous engagements that must absorb your time in the supervision and administration of such an institution as your University, but if you can sacrifice the time your remarks before a Montreal assembly would be likely to prove of great assistance to the advancement of the higher training of medical students, at least in Canada, and would at the same time tend to induce lay friends to show their approval of our present enterprise in a substantial manner.

"Have the goodness to let me know if we may hope to have the pleasure of your presence with us at our opening ceremony.

"With kind regards, believe me, yours very sincerely,

"R. V. HOWARD."[1]

[1] MS.

Also the following from the Chancellor, Sir William Dawson:

"I have learned with much pleasure from Dr. Howard that we may hope to be honored with your presence at the opening of our new Medical building on the 22d inst., and beg leave now to ask that you will favor Lady Dawson and myself with your company to luncheon on the 22d at 1 P.M., to meet some of the officers and friends of the University, and to proceed with them to the opening ceremony."[1]

The ceremonies consisted in the inauguration of the new laboratory of the Medical School at McGill University, and Dr. Pepper's address was the principal feature.[2] He availed himself of the opportunity to urge reforms in medical education, which he had advocated eight years before in the celebrated address on the subject in the University of Pennsylvania.[3] Like all his occasional addresses, this one was prepared with solicitous attention to local conditions and was received with marked approbation.

It appears to have been his intention, when he assumed the duties of Provost, to submit an annual report to the Board of Trustees; but his second report, which by this plan would have been presented in October, 1884, was made impossible by a prolonged illness in his family, and was not submitted until October 1, 1885.[4] The two years which had passed since the last report had been full of activity and results, as

[1] MS. letter, October 6, 1885.

[2] *The Gazette*, Montreal, October 23, 1885.

[3] See pp. 74, 75.

[4] Annual Report of the Provost and Treasurer of the University of Pennsylvania for October 1, 1885, printed for the University, 1886, 18–20 pp.

his report shows. A vacancy in the Board of Trustees had been filled, largely at Dr. Pepper's instigation, by the election of James MacAlister, LL.D., Superintendent of Public Education in Philadelphia. This election was part of Dr. Pepper's policy to strengthen the University in the city, and to offer the strongest guarantee to the community that the obligations of the University to the city would be faithfully discharged. Some difficulty had been experienced in filling the fifty city scholarships, owing to the lack of adjustment between the curriculum of the High School and that of the University. It was hoped that, through the active efforts of the Superintendent of Public Education in the city, these difficulties would be overcome. The University pursued the liberal policy of admitting the High School graduates on very favorable conditions, and at the time of this report the Trustees of the University had authorized the admission of four more than the allotted number of free scholars, thus making the actual number of the city scholars in attendance fifty-four.

The Provost renewed his plea for "some general agreement between the leading colleges of America as to the requirements of admission," a sore need at this time, and one which little had been done to satisfy. In this connection he said:

"As schools which prepare students for college are constantly increasing in number, it becomes all the more urgent that a certain stability on this point should be attained. It takes several years for the work in a large school to become thoroughly adapted to the requirements for admission to the colleges for which its students are preparing. It may be assumed that the frequent and extensive changes of recent years must have severely taxed the resources of these schools and interfered with the efficiency of their instruction.

There is reason to hope, however, that less change and less variety will occur in the future. Unless the conditions of life in America become greatly altered, it would seem that the requirements for admission to our colleges have now reached a standard as high as it is desirable for them to be carried. There can be no question as to the necessity of more prolonged and more thorough work in the professional departments, such as those of law and medicine, to which students pass after being graduated in the college. If, however, the age at which young men are to be finally admitted to professional life is not to exceed twenty-four or twenty-five years (and there are many cogent reasons why this average should not be exceeded), and if three or four years of post-graduate studies are requisite, it is evident that colleges should arrange their requirements for admission so that students of an average age of seventeen or eighteen may readily enter. If such a course were adopted, and large inducements held out to students who desire advanced instruction to pursue post-graduate courses, it would be possible for a far larger proportion of the youth of America to pursue a college education."

This brought him to the main subject of the true university, the ideal for which he was always striving. "What seems to be needed," continued he, "is not any further advance of the standard for admission to the College, but a fuller development of the system of residence after graduation for the prosecution of advanced studies or of original investigation." He therefore urged the establishment of scholarships and fellowships. The Board at his suggestion had established five endowed fellowships in the Wharton School and two appointments had been made in June, the first of the kind in the history of the University. Commenting on them Dr. Pepper said: "Unfortunately, no funds have as yet been contributed to the endowment of those fellowships, and much of their value is lost by rendering them available only to

young men of independent means."[1] His plea for endowed fellowships came with greater force because of the munificent act of Professor John Tyndall, who, in the summer of 1885, had endowed the Hector Tyndale Fellowships at Pennsylvania, Harvard, and Columbia College, New York.[2]

The fund which provided for these endowments came from the money earned by Professor Tyndall through his lectures in America in the years 1872–'73, the proceeds of which ($32,400) he generously devoted "to the encouragement of advanced study and original research in physics," by establishing scholarships for able and deserving students. Dr. Pepper approved the position which the University had taken "as to the superior advantage of carefully devised elective groups of studies" over free electives, each student being permitted to choose "no isolated subject, but a group of subjects or parallel courses;" and he adhered to this policy throughout his administration. "The experience of all professors of English in American colleges," said he, "is, that students do not come to college adequately prepared for perfect instruction in advanced studies in English. In French and German the case is usually worse; in many instances the student who elects one or both of these languages as a substitute for the classics is advanced scarcely beyond the rudiments of either tongue." Therefore, the proposition to permit an election between Greek and the modern languages, in the requirements for admission to the course leading to the degree of B.A., could not be fairly discussed, he

[1] James Collins Jones; Francis Newton Thorpe, American History and Political Science. Catalogue, 1885–1886, p. 33.

[2] See letter of William W. Appleton, Esq., to the Trustees of the University.

said, until it had been shown that the preparatory study of French and German was as systematic and thorough as that of Greek; and not until this was the case in the best preparatory schools would it be possible practically to determine the relative merits of the ancient and modern languages as a means of mental training.

As a step in the proper direction the standard of English in the University was raised, at his instigation, in 1884, and an examination in both French and German was thenceforth required of applicants for admission to courses leading to the degree of Ph.B. and B.S. The immediate result was a decrease in the number of applicants at the June examination in 1884. On account of raising the standard no student had been successful in competition for the city scholarships. This result could be but temporary, however, as, said he, "the preparatory schools may be counted upon to support the College in any well-matured advancement or improvement in the standard of instruction."

In 1883, through the generosity of Dr. Horace Jayne and the collaboration of Dr. Joseph Leidy and Professor Harrison Allen, Provost Pepper organized the Biological School, which was opened December 4, 1884.[1] The new department was planned to provide instruction for men and women who were preparing to study medicine, or who desired to pursue special lines of scientific work. Its founder, Dr. Jayne,

[1] Benjamin Franklin and the University of Pennsylvania, Chapter XIII.: "The Biological School," by Joseph T. Rothrock, M.D., p. 327. Dr. Pepper subscribed five thousand dollars to the fund establishing the school. "The contributions made by Dr. Jayne personally at the time and subsequently have been not less than fifty thousand dollars." P. 333.

believed that under proper management it might contribute to strengthen medical students, as well as to afford facilities for undergraduates and for advanced students in biological investigation. Provost Pepper looked upon its scope and purpose as offering, in connection with the University, opportunities of a scientific nature comparable to those given by the University Hospital.

One passage in this report well illustrates a characteristic of Dr. Pepper—his habitual recognition of faithful services among those to whom the academic affairs of the University were intrusted. Though the advancement of the University, which he recorded in his report, was due largely and often entirely to his own efforts, he did not neglect to pay tribute:

"That which is most gratifying is the decided improvement in the tone of the College Department manifested by the general conduct of the students, by their cordial relations with the old students in the other departments, and with fewer instances of infraction of discipline. Most of this must be attributed to the admirable combination of the College Faculty and to its wise and helpful influence upon all. To it the warmest praise is due for fidelity and zeal individually and collectively, not only in the discharge of laborious duties, but in the advancement of the interests of the students of the University."

In no instance through his long public career, strewn with official reports, was he known to ignore the faithful services of a subordinate or to emphasize his own personal services. In his Reports as Provost there are repeated instances of his mention of individual services, a recognition too often conspicuously lacking in publications of the kind.

It will be remembered that when he was a freshman in the University, the first instruction he received, and it happened

to come from Professor Allen, was on the duty of attending College Chapel. The old custom of the University of requiring attendance at Chapel had been questioned since the last Report, by some of the Faculty, who held that enforced attendance of students upon religious exercises was hostile to the true spirit of religion and lessened the benefit received by those who were really interested, without any advantage to those who were unwilling listeners. In this opinion of the minority, Dr. Pepper did not coincide. It was his judgment that the general result of the old University custom was beneficial, and that to give the Chapel services a merely voluntary character would operate injuriously.

The problem was known to be far from settled, but Dr. Pepper's innate conservatism was indicated in his decision to adhere to the ancient custom. At this time the Young Men's Christian Association was reaching out into the colleges and gaining a foothold everywhere. In the sectarian Protestant schools, it was able frequently to form an alliance with the authorities; but the University of Pennsylvania being non-sectarian, it did not seem advisable, "either for the general interest of the University or of this special religious work, to accord to these efforts any official recognition." "They meet," continued Dr. Pepper, in his report, "with the cordial sympathy and approval of the authorities of the University, who have uniformly extended to those in charge of this movement the needed accommodation." He recognized the value of the movement and gave it his powerful influence.

The Department of Physical Culture, the organization of which was completed December 2, 1884, by the election of Dr. J. William White as Director of Physical Education, proved an immediate and powerful means—indeed, the most powerful yet utilized—"to elevate the standard of conduct

throughout the College." It proved to be the preventive of the old-time infraction of discipline. A large room in the College building was fitted up temporarily as a gymnasium—"until," said the Provost, "a building suitably constructed for this purpose can be obtained." The Athletic Association had thoroughly proved its usefulness. A considerable amount of money had been donated with which to provide adequate quarters for it, and inter-collegiate athletic sports were for the first time held on the University grounds, October 10, 1885.

His activity and zeal during the past year for higher medical instruction were now beginning to bear fruit. Speaking of the extension of the medical course, he said:

"The good which it was believed would follow the courageous course of the Faculty in cutting loose from traditions deemed injurious, and inaugurating a system of honest thorough medical teaching, has been realized. The standard of the scholarship of the students steadily improves, especially in the grade of preparatory education and in the proportion of graduates among them. Students of the best class from distant parts, which in former years but rarely sent students to the University, are becoming numerous. The position taken by the University is exercising a powerful and wide-spread influence on the medical profession and on medical schools. Everywhere the tendency is seen to adopt, as far as possible, the improvement and reform introduced by the University. It becomes more and more evident that the medical schools of the country must, in the future, be divided into two distinct classes, —those of the first rank, which provide a course of instruction thoroughly adapted to the needs of the best students and to the rapidly advancing state of medical science; and those of the second rank, which, however celebrated, may in their teaching lack thoroughness and methods which alone can meet the demands of the age. Under these circumstances, the duty of the University, whose position is conspicuous among the few medical schools of

the first rank in America, is manifest. There must be no halting in the forward movement; no exertion or expense spared which may add excellence and completeness to the system of instruction."

The forward movement which he now urged was to make the session of the Medical School occupy the full academic year.[1]

For several years the University observed two distinct Commencements, the one for the Medical and Dental Departments, in May; the other for the College and the Law School, in June. He recognized that it was impossible to render both occasions equally interesting, and therefore urged that the Commencement exercises of all the departments should occur in the same week, "together with the various Alumni meetings and entertainments, the Class-Day exercises, the College sports, and their interesting historic celebrations, which should render Commencement Week a general University festival." This was the original suggestion of the now highly important Commencement Week.

The Veterinary School, in which lectures had begun in October, 1884, had meanwhile been thoroughly organized and had assumed a high position in the country. It exacted a preliminary examination of its matriculates and of those who were candidates for a degree, and an attendance upon a carefully graded course of instruction covering three full years, each session extending from October 1 to June 1,— "a noteworthy stride," he observed, "to those accustomed to the veterinary education of the past." In order to make the school of the highest efficiency, extensive stables were built in connection with it, and a Veterinary Hospital established.

[1] From September 15 or October 1 to June 1, which would extend the session about six weeks.

The new department was welcomed with great favor in all quarters.

It was during the year 1884 that the first systematic attempt was made to improve the University campus, and old students will remember this innovation and its most conspicuous monument at the time, the iron fence which was erected to surround the main college and the Hospital lots. This gave place some fourteen years later to the ornamental and appropriate hedge which now beautifies the property.

In 1884 the University secured for the first time the services of a salaried Librarian, Mr. James G. Barnwell. The books belonging to the University Library were at this time scattered among the different departments, but the College Library was housed in the central hall of the main floor of the College building. The Library was growing rapidly, making "more conspicuous the lamentable want of suitable accommodations for books and for readers. The time has now come," said the Provost, "when a separate fireproof library is imperatively demanded." He had urged his claim at his inauguration, and had appealed in its behalf eloquently to the Alumni. Now that the University for the first time enrolled more than a thousand students (1048) and had a Faculty of nearly one hundred and fifty (148), the necessity was more keenly felt than ever. He named one hundred and fifty thousand dollars as the amount required, which, he thought, would build a suitable house for the books and also for Commencement exercises.

The annual deficiency, which in 1883 was about sixteen thousand dollars, was about four thousand ($3923.45) in 1884, and $9517.12 in 1885, caused during the last year by "unusually heavy outlays for permanent improvements." During the two years since the last Report, the donations to

the various departments of the University amounted to $114,762.

In his Report as Provost, 1885, was published for the first time the bibliography of members of the University Faculty. It covered thirty-five pages of the Report and included about eight hundred titles. The custom thus inaugurated has been observed in all subsequent reports.

Not all of Dr. Pepper's efforts to carry through large undertakings were successful. Thus, by a decision of one of the Philadelphia courts, an institution for the training of girls as nurses and for other domestic positions, which it was hoped would, under the will of Eleanor D. Long, become a part of the University Hospital, was lost to the University, a loss which he deeply lamented.

A notable event in academic life at this time was the production in the original Greek of the "Acharnians" of Aristophanes, on May 14 and 15, 1886, at the Academy of Music. It was the first presentation of a Greek comedy in this country. Students, alumni, professors, and trustees co-operated in the undertaking. The play was subsequently repeated at the Academy of Music in New York City, and the net proceeds, nearly fourteen hundred dollars, were contributed to the fund of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens. The music was written by Dr. Hugh A. Clarke, Professor of Music at the University, who conducted the orchestra. The principal part, that of "Dikaiopolis," comprising fully two-thirds of the play, was enacted by Mr. George Wharton Pepper,[1] a nephew of the Provost, and at the time a member of the junior class.

[1] Mr. Pepper exemplified that rare combination in student life, pre-eminence in college sports and academic standing. He grad-

On June 8 Matthew Arnold delivered an address in the University Chapel on "Foreign Education."

"Surely," said Dr. Pepper, in introducing Mr. Arnold, "it is with peculiar pleasure that we have assembled this afternoon to listen to an address on foreign education from one of the highest authorities on the subject. Naturally the subject has a deep interest for us, for it may safely be said that with each year a greater degree of earnest attention is paid in this country to educational methods and their results. The rapid increase of educational foundations in every part of America; keen rivalry between the different schools, colleges, and universities; the numerous experiments in progress as to every feature of education,—all these make the present a fit time for us to listen to a calm and wise review of the peculiarities in methods of education which have been developed in communities older than ours and among widely varying conditions of organization. I say this without the least intention of disparaging our American methods. I firmly believe that ours are rapidly and accurately adapting themselves to our special circumstances and needs. But despite this there are many persons who share with me the feeling that to us certainly no less than to others

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uated with high honors in 1887. In the Law School he attained the highest average in the senior year, won the Sharswood and Morris prizes, delivered the law oration at graduation (on "The Emancipation of Married Women;" one hundred and thirty-third Commencement of the University of Pennsylvania, June 5, 1889), and was given the Law School fellowship (1889–1892) and the Algernon Sydney Biddle fellowship (1889–1893). In 1893, upon the creation of the Algernon Sydney Biddle professorship of law, he was elected to the chair. For a particular account of the Greek play see the Philadelphia *Times*, the *North American*, and the Philadelphia *Press*, May 15, 1886; the Philadelphia *Press*, April 2, 1886; and *Harper's Weekly*, of the week of the play.

might be applied those lines which seem to address themselves directly to the very spirit of this age:

> 'But we, brought forth and reared in hours
> Of change, alarm, surprise,
> What shelter to grow right is ours?
> What leisure to grow wise?'

"It is to these academic halls and to such as these, whence in ever-increasing number the choice men and women of our race are going, that we look in confidence for those energizing and pervading influences which in a degree less only than that exercised by pure religion shall elevate and dignify the crowding millions of the future. Nor can any speaker more fully embody and illustrate this principle than he who will address us to-day. It will seem as he speaks that not only his voice attests the value and necessity of sound educational systems, but that we hear also speaking, more strongly and clearly than ever before, though for our half-century a most familiar sound throughout this land, the potent voice of that great teacher, that wise reformer, that complete and noble man, Thomas Arnold, of Rugby. It is, then, both as one who represents the imperishable influence of this great man's life and work, and as one whose close study of all educational questions has made him no less conspicuous in that field than the whole world recognized him to be as a poet and critic, that I have the honor of introducing to you Mr. Matthew Arnold."[1]

A loose sheet in Dr. Pepper's handwriting marked *Diary for Tuesday, June* 8, 1886, records the events of the day:

"Full of ordinary business—12.30 meeting of the Directors of the Foulk and Long Institution—finally organized—good practical working Board to carry out our plans—4.00 P.M. introduced Matthew Arnold at the University for his lecture on Foreign

[1] MS., June 8, 1886.

Education, see remarks—vigorous and well preserved—bad enunciation—terrible pronunciation of some words, as 'girls, *geeerls*' —quiet, clear, caustic, appreciative—talked of primary schools on the Continent—contrasted them favorably with those in England—full of religious instruction—'Education is that by which all human beings are taught all things human' (Arnold)—something more than mere useful knowledge—'The children human,' a frequent comment made by him in visiting the best public schools in France, Germany, and Switzerland—important to '*organische verbindung*' (Constitution of the Canton Zurich) between the population—the intermediate and higher education. He closed with saying that no University could more fittingly do this than the University of Franklin. As a matter of fact, I have already accomplished it by the establishment of the fifty prize scholarships."

Another sheet is marked *Diary for June* 11, 1886:

"Gave breakfast, 11.30 A.M., at Social Art Club, to Matthew Arnold. Present: E. H. Coates, C. H. Clark, L. Clarke Davis, Samuel Dickson, Wayne MacVeagh, Ellis Yarnall, General S. Wylie Crawford, and myself. A lot of good talk. Arnold particularly interesting in regard to the future prospects of Church and State in England."

Of Arnold's appearance and talk at this breakfast Dr. Pepper made record:

"6/ 12/ 86.

"Took breakfast with Matthew Arnold; one would naturally think, 'What a good fellow, with frank and easy manners—a strong, fine figure—and a strong face;' but he mouths his words and talks with protruded lips and indistinct utterance when addressing an audience of any considerable size, altogether the result of defective elocution. Voice sufficiently pleasant in ordinary conversation, and with force enough to be heard clear enough in any hall if properly managed. How often we notice this in English

literary men, even their public men whose education and pursuits have led you to expect better things in the way of public speaking. It seems that the throat and chest voice, which is becoming habitual with the English for conversational purposes, and which is so agreeable and contrasts with the high pitch of the nasal voice, now so common in America, is ill adapted for public speaking unless of exceptional force and managed with still more expressive art. . . .

"At breakfast we talked of clubs—ours he finds expensive—the University Club of New York, $300 entrance, and $100 per annum. The Athenæum, London, is only £8 per annum. But everything with us, except rent, is high. He spoke of the late hours which were becoming the rule at many clubs,—the Cosmopolitan, the Garrick, etc.,—so that men must drop out of them as they get on in years. He commented on the notable position now occupied by some newspaper correspondents (Smalley, *e.g.*), and spoke of a breakfast *carré* with Chamberlain, himself, some fellow with a title, and Smalley. Farrar he described as embittered because he gets no church preferment. He liked Boston and Philadelphia much better than New York. Chestnut Street was the most attractive street in America, because it was like a comfortable English street. One turns from Arnold with more liking after having seen and talked with him."

"At Arnold's lecture a good instance of retributive justice was seen: the room was very crowded, and there is absolutely no ventilation, the architect having been stupid enough to neglect it utterly. One woman fainted, and I learned afterward it was the wife of the architect; *pede claudo*." [1]

His deep interest in the preparatory schools of the country and in the establishment of closer relations between them and the University was appreciated, and the School-Master's

[1] Diary, June 13.

Association, early in April, 1887, elected him an honorary member. They would gladly have asked him for some contribution of his time and creative services, but they knew that he was already overworked and that he would neglect no opportunity to further the purposes of the association. This was expressed by the Secretary, who, in announcing his election, informed him that the school-masters had great reason to be grateful for his kindness in helping them organize.[1]

He delivered the address of welcome to the members of the Modern Language Association, which held its fifth annual convention at the University of Pennsylvania this year. Some passages in this address are worthy of preservation:

"We have nothing to do with the question of the necessity of the classics in any and every system of education worthy of the name. We assume that to be conceded as beyond discussion. Could Milton have written 'Paradise Lost' or the 'Elegy on Lycidas,' or Burke his oration against Hastings, Landor his Dialogues, without a profound study of the classics? Could Corneille or Racine, or Goethe or Lessing, or Dante have produced their immortal works without such study? What boots such questioning? May the day never come when the glorious languages of Homer, of Plato, of Sophocles, and of Cicero, of Virgil, of Horace shall not be recognized as the very keystone of the highest and most inspiring education which can be imparted! But so, too, may the day never return when the rigid sway of an exclusive system shall prevail, which would force all to pursue the same beaten path of study or would deny them the priceless gift of education. If a college education be good for a man to have, it should be good for a large proportion of the community. If anywhere in the world to-day it is desirable or possible that a university system shall be

[1] MS. letter from George F. Martin to Dr. Pepper, April 7, 1887.

kept up for the benefit of a small and exclusive class, it is most certainly neither desirable nor possible to do so in America. Our colleges multiply rapidly. I rejoice to see their multiplication myself; each one becomes a focus of activity and growth. Concentration and wealth and the tremendous power of tradition and of prestige will come fast enough. But even with all this rapidity of growth, our colleges are barely maintaining their influence and hold over the swarming millions of population. Had not wise heed been paid to the changing needs of our national life and relations, and to the changing aspects of our national thought, the influence of our colleges might have been less than it is to-day. Believing, as I do most earnestly, that the future safety of our precious institutions depends more largely on the wide diffusion of thorough and advanced education than upon any other influence, I welcome gladly every development of our college and of our university system which brings it into closer touch with the intellectual needs of our people.

"Not only in the learned professions, but in every branch of our marvellously complicated commercial and industrial life, do we need men able to grasp instantly the new thoughts and facts which each day develop in whatever part of the world, and carefully trained to observe and to think correctly and to express clearly their opinions. The day of universal language has gone and has not yet come again. Volapük is dead before it is born. And yet the ceaseless activity of literary research, the marvellous productiveness of scientific investigation distance hopelessly the man who depends on the slow and uncertain study of translations. The ever increasing closeness and complexity of commercial relations; the growing concern which all nations must feel in the vast questions—social, religious, political—which are under discussion everywhere; the striving after a closer touch with each other, even though universal arbitration and a broad federation of state and church belong to a distant golden day of higher humanity;—these and countless other considerations urge the more general and earnest study of those

languages in which such mighty voices of the past and of the present speak on that which most concerns us.

"The development of a sound system of teaching modern languages will never encroach upon the true growth of classic study and influence. The evolution of the one will be matched by that of the other. Heredity will ensure increased receptivity, and wiser methods will yield results in efficient scholarship and in mastery."[1]

In 1786, while Dr. Franklin was president of Pennsylvania, a plan of a college in the borough of Lancaster, Pennsylvania, was approved by the General Assembly, which, out of respect to the character of "his Excellency, the President of the State, named the institution Franklin College." On June 6, of the following year, the college was formally opened. The question whether Franklin was personally present on this occasion has been much discussed. It has been claimed that he witnessed the laying of the corner-stone in that year, but this cannot be taken literally, as the college had no building of its own until a later period. The evidence of his presence is strongly presumptive; at least he was not present in the Federal Convention at the time when he is said to have been present at Lancaster.[2] It is certain, however, that he was present four years later, when he gave a thousand dollars to the institution. On the occasion of the centennial anniversary of the founding of the college, Dr. Pepper, who in public spirit, magnanimity, and utilitarian pursuits closely represented Franklin, delivered the address,[3]

[1] Transactions and Proceedings of the Modern Language Association of America, vol. iii. 1887.

[2] For the evidence *pro* and *con* see Benjamin Franklin and the University of Pennsylvania, pp. 112–113.

[3] Address on Benjamin Franklin, by William Pepper, M.D LL.D., delivered at Franklin and Marshall College, Lancaster, Pa

and, like Franklin, he accompanied his words with a gift of one thousand dollars. In the course of his address he said:

"Franklin was admirably equipped as a popular teacher. Long study of the best models of English prose, aided by his fine literary sense, gave him a style unsurpassed for clearness and directness, while his rich vein of humor, his command of satire, of anecdote, and of terse, sententious phrase, enabled him to convey large truths in such portable, attractive forms that his teachings soon spread far and wide and fixed themselves in the memory and speech of men. But here, as in all cases, that which gave most weight to his teachings was the character and the life of the teacher.

"He made the newspaper press a power for good as it had never been before; and he set the example, and adhered to it throughout his editorial career, of preserving the columns of his paper from all libelling and personal abuse and all purveying to the prurient taste of a section of the community.

"He was ever ready to recognize a public need, whether of school or library or hospital, and to devote his time, his energy, his money to supplying the deficiency.

"No man can carry through such public movements who is not himself liberal and who does not give his full share in every way to support the enterprise. While the author of 'Poor Richard' taught all classes alike the value of money, the duty of economy, the pride of independence, and the nobility of labor, and often by language or simile which may be misconstrued so as to advocate parsimony, the same self-taught, self-made man was incessant in all good and liberal deeds.

"He recognized early the advantages of co-operation, and his treatment of deserving workmen is a suggestive point in the history of the relations of capital and labor. Our greatest problem of to-

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on the centennial anniversary of its foundation. 1787–1887. Philadelphia: Dando Printing and Publishing Company, 1887.

day has to deal with these relations. Our very prosperity forces it into greater prominence. The liberty and political rights of the individual give to it unprecedented urgency and importance. It may not be settled by force, nor by legislation, nor even by the church; but I believe it will be settled peaceably and lawfully, and to the mutual advantage of all concerned, by a wide extension of the principle of organized co-operation, based upon a human yet shrewd calculation of the self-interest of both parties to the bargain; and I am glad to believe that, as Franklin would have delighted to aid in consummating this, his spirit and the influence of his teachings yet survive among us to assist in its realization and to remind us that toil, thrift, and temperance, with true humanity, are the key-notes of the successful solution of this great problem.

"Lord Brougham wrote: 'One of the most remarkable men, certainly of our times, as a politician, or of any age as a philosopher, was Franklin, who also stands alone in combining together these two characters, the greatest that man can sustain, and in this, that, having borne the first part in enlarging science by one of the greatest discoveries ever made, he bore the second part in founding one of the greatest empires in the world.' A mere enumeration of the notable scientific publications of Franklin would be too large for my purpose. All that it behooves us to do is to strive to appreciate the quality of this work and the fact that it was done without encouragement or assistance, with the simplest self-made apparatus, and in the midst of distracting and absorbing business or political affairs. A keen observer by nature, he had trained himself to such incessant activity of mind and to the employment of so pure and inductive a method that scarce anything escaped him, and every phenomenon observed started a train of philosophic reasoning so clear, so direct, and so well confined to the limits of the probable and the demonstrable that he was capable of securing astonishing scientific results with means apparently most inadequate. The only period of his life when he gave himself up in any sense to scientific investigation, the only period during which he was not distinctively engaged in

some other absorbing pursuit, was the period, 1747 to 1752, when he began to enjoy the leisure earned by hard but profitable work. All know the outcome of this investigation, and that the discoveries made by Franklin in electricity, from their entire originality, the breadth and boldness of the generalization upon which they were based, the accuracy and conclusive nature of the experiments by which the hypotheses were established, the important practical results indicated by him, and the still more important results which have followed the further prosecution of the same study, have conferred immortality upon him and placed him in the front rank of the natural philosophers of all time.

"Our amazement cannot be restrained when we reflect that this work was accomplished before he was forty-seven years of age, and that never again did he, who was then incomparably the most eminent American and whose rank in European celebrities speedily rose to the highest point, have an opportunity of applying himself continuously to scientific research, although from that time to his death, at the age of eighty-four, he continued to produce remarkable scientific papers containing original observations or striking generalizations, showing that the philosophic faculty was in vigorous action. It is idle to speculate upon what results might have followed a continuance of Franklin's scientific investigations. It has been granted to but few men to arrive at even a single discovery of such importance as that on which his scientific fame chiefly rests; but in fertility of mind, originality of suggestion, and prolonged intellectual and bodily vigor Franklin appears to stand unrivalled.

"We may more reasonably dwell on the joy it would give him could he return to see the position attained by his favorite branch of science and to note that it is growing to be more and more the useful and reliable servant of man, ministering to his daily wants, and rendering life more enjoyable and more healthy. But still more would he rejoice to see the laboratories erected in all parts of the land, equipped with every appliance for scientific investigation and crowded with earnest, ingenious students, for some of whom Fame

holds high honors. He would feel, with just pride, that to him, more than to any other man, is due the splendid development of the scientific spirit and of scientific education in America; and that the institutions, the societies, and the libraries he founded, or whose foundation he stimulated, are carrying forward and diffusing with ever-increasing force the precious light of scientific truth which he kindled here.

"Franklin hated war. He hated it as a Christian, a philanthropist, and an economist. He hated unjust taxation scarcely less. To the familiar accusation against these he added one, possibly original with himself, and at least very characteristic of him. He charged them both with the crime of preventing the birth of children,—the one by the downright murder of many men, the other by the interference with the normal ratio of marriage, whose possible services to the world are unknown and well-nigh infinite. And this veneration for the possibilities of the young lay at the root of his ardent advocacy of education, equally with his belief in the conservative and elevating influence of all sound knowledge. 'What is the use of this new invention?' some one asked Franklin. 'What is the use of a new-born child?' was his reply. What, indeed, has not been the use of the loom or of the steam-engine? what not the precious value of a Howard, a Newton, a Franklin?

"I have alluded to Franklin's work as a moralist, a statesman, and a scientist; it would be strange, indeed, if I were not to speak here of him as an educator and as a philanthropist. He was essentially a self-educated man; and he has left us a charming account of the methods he pursued in educating himself. Some may imagine that much of his characteristic strength and usefulness came from these lessons of early hardship. To me there certainly seems no ground for any such conclusion in this or other cases, and he certainly did not hold that view. To assert that a great man who has educated himself is greater on that account involves improbable assumptions. The number of very great men is extremely small. They occur at irregular intervals of time and space. When one

such occurs, who, in addition to the other qualities of real greatness, has the added rare quality of determination to improve himself to the utmost, we have the condition produced of a lad with an elective course of studies, secured under the most unfavorable surroundings. Franklin was pre-eminently such a lad. Throughout his life he was unwilling to be 'a speckled axe,' in allusion to the anecdote in his autobiography of the man who, in buying an axe of a smith, his neighbor, desired to have the whole surface as bright as its edge. The smith consented to grind it bright for him, if he would turn the wheel. He turned, while the smith pressed the broad face of the axe hard and heavily on the stone, which made the turning of it very fatiguing. The man came every now and then from the wheel to see how the work went on, and at length would take his axe as it was, without further grinding. 'No,' said the smith, 'turn on, turn on; we shall have it bright by and by; as yet it is only speckled.' 'Yes,' says the man; 'but I think I like the speckled axe best.' But while here and there lads of rare qualities, but lacking educational facilities, surmount all obstacles and achieve greatness, the world can never know how many fail to attain their legitimate development. It is true that under no system of education can we expect to produce many such men as Goethe, who graduated at Strasburg; or Voltaire, who studied at the celebrated Jesuit College of Louis le Grand; or Newton, who was an M.A. of Trinity College, Cambridge; or Franklin, who was strictly self-educated. But still less can we expect to produce under any one fixed, unvarying educational plan even as many as should appear. No system of education should be devised for the benefit of these rare and exceptional natures; but it is among the positive advantages of a well-arranged elective system of studies that, while it provides for the dull and lazy, it affords the freest facility for the development and expansion of the gifted and the industrious. It is not surprising, therefore, that Franklin, having found in his own case that excellent results were attained by the thorough mastery of English, followed by a study

of other modern languages, before taking up the classics, should have been led to the conclusion that such is the natural and best course.

"Probably all are familiar with the interesting history of the University of Pennsylvania. It had its origin in the Academy of Philadelphia, which was founded in 1749,[1] through the exertions of Franklin. In the tract which he published at that time, entitled 'Proposals relating to the Education of Youth in Pennsylvania,' he remarks: 'The good education of youth has been esteemed by wise men in all ages as the surest foundation of the happiness both of private families and of commonwealths,' and then proceeds to describe with much detail the course of study proposed. It is noteworthy that he gives a foremost place to athletics, providing 'that the scholars be frequently exercised in running, leaping, wrestling, and swimming, to keep them in health, and to strengthen and render active their bodies.' In this he anticipated the systematic instruction in athletics which has been introduced into our academies and colleges only recently, and after much unreasoning and ignorant opposition. Especial stress is laid on the fulness and thoroughness with which English is to be taught to all students, while in regard to other languages the following is provided: 'All intended for divinity shall be taught the Latin and Greek; for physics, the Latin, Greek, and French; for law, the Latin and French; merchants, the French, German, and Spanish; and though all should not be compelled to learn Latin, Greek, or the modern foreign languages, yet none that have an ardent desire to learn them should be refused, their English, arithmetic, and other studies absolutely necessary, being at the same time not neglected.' It is needless to point out with what clearness the fundamental principle of elective studies is here recognized and how thoroughly in accord his conclusions as

[1] Dr. Pepper, in 1887, did not know the true date,—1740; the historical investigation which set the question at rest was made later. See Benjamin Franklin and the University of Pennsylvania.

to the study of languages are with those which are now at last coming gradually to be adopted generally. What followed in the history of the Academy (later the University) may be mentioned briefly, because, if I mistake not, an analogous experience was repeated here in the early days of Franklin College. So little heed was given to the proposals of the original founders as to the pre-eminent position to be held by English studies, that the classics gradually acquired control of the entire system of education in the institution, and in 1789, the year before Franklin's death, we find him publishing a spirited and forcible protest against a continuance of this perversion of the original trust. It is here that the familiar passage occurs, 'At what time hats were first introduced we know not; but in the last century they were universally worn throughout Europe. Gradually, however, as the wearing of wigs and hair nicely dressed prevailed, the putting on of hats was disused by genteel people, lest the curious arrangement of curls and powdering should be disordered, and umbrellas began to supply the place; yet still our considering the hat as a part of dress continues so far to prevail that a man of fashion is not thought dressed without having one or something like one about him, which he carries under his arm. So that there are a multitude of the politer people in all the courts and capital cities of Europe who have never, or their fathers before them, worn a hat otherwise than a *chapeau bras*, though the utility of such a mode of wearing it is by no means apparent, and it is attended not only with some expense, but with a degree of constant trouble. The still prevailing custom of having schools for teaching generally our children in these days the Latin and Greek languages I consider, therefore, in no other light than as a *chapeau bras* of modern literature.' It is not impossible that the estrangement of many of the original patrons and trustees of the College, brought about by this departure from the proposed plan, may have aided, to some extent, in causing the House of Assembly to arbitrarily withdraw the charter and estates of the College, thus causing a disastrous interference with its work during several years. And

now, after the lapse of a century, we see, as well in the University of Pennsylvania as in other prominent colleges, success beginning to crown the efforts of those who would insist on a thorough and advanced study of English as one of the essentials of all English-speaking students, while arranging the other languages—Latin, Greek, Hebrew, German, French, Italian—in associated elective groups."

Dr. Pepper's gift and address called forth a letter from the President of Franklin and Marshall College:

"I have been instructed by the Board of Trustees of Franklin and Marshall College to express to you their thanks for, and their high appreciation of, the very liberal contribution with which you graced your presence, and your excellent scholarly address, at the Centennial celebration of our College. It is all the more highly appreciated as a tribute to liberal education and culture in one of Pennsylvania's oldest Colleges, as coming from the eminent and cultured head of *the University* of our Commonwealth, to which all our Pennsylvania Colleges look up as the crown of our State system of education. The thrilling response of applause with which its public announcement was received on Commencement Day indicated the appreciation and thanks also of the Alumni and citizens of Lancaster. I may be allowed to add for myself personally, as president of the College, that no contribution in connection with our Centennial will be more highly valued by the friends of our College and myself than this beautiful tribute to our institution, and it will go down in the history of our College in the coming century as an act that will not be forgotten.

"My acquaintance with you personally increases my desire that in the State College Association, about to be formed, not only the University of Pennsylvania may take her fitting place at our head, but that you could grace the occasion by *your* presence. Not only F. and M. but Lancaster City would be proud to welcome you again at that time and on that occasion. If you cannot possibly

be present, we shall be glad to welcome the honored representatives of your Faculty.

"With high esteem and warm regard, I remain

"Your humble friend and bro.,

"THOS. G. APPLE." [1]

No less pleasing was an estimate of the address by the Matthew Arnold of America:

"ASHFIELD, MASS., September 17, 1887.

"I am very much obliged to you for a copy of your timely and admirable discourse upon Franklin. I have read it with great interest, delighted to renew in your graphic portrait my impression of the great man whom Matthew Arnold felicitously associates with Emerson as the distinctive American.

"Very truly yours,

"GEORGE WILLIAM CURTIS." [2]

One passage in Dr. Pepper's address found its way into the newspapers and helped to form a correct opinion of the formation of the American Union, the Centennial of which under the Constitution was observed in Philadelphia in September, 1887.

"Even at that early day," said Dr. Pepper, referring to the years between 1765 and 1775, "Franklin saw clearly and outlined distinctly the grand conception of an Imperial Federation of Great Britain and the Colonies, towards which, after one hundred years of delay, steps are beginning to be taken." Commenting on this, one paper declared that Franklin was the father of American Union, because twenty years before the Confederacy he had urged the union of the Colonies.[3] The address at Lancaster was in

[1] MS. letter. June 17, 1887.

[2] MS. letter.

[3] *Harper's Weekly*, September 26, 1887.

June. "When in next September," continued Dr. Pepper, "the representatives of the several States shall meet in Philadelphia to celebrate the Centennial Anniversary of the ratification of the Constitution, the final and most important scene of this period will be enacted. And in that celebration larger space should be made for the recital of the part played by Franklin, who shares with Washington the immortal glory of winning and keeping our Union."

IV

THE UNIVERSITY

1887–1888

IN October, 1887, the new buildings presented to the College of Physicians and Surgeons of New York by Mr. Vanderbilt were opened, and the occasion was observed by a dinner at Delmonico's, on which occasion Dr. Pepper, who responded to one of the toasts, utilized the opportunity to renew his appeal for higher medical education.

"Upon what possible ground," inquired he, "can be explained the apathy and indifference of our practical people to this most practical and most vital matter of medical education? This battle has waged fiercely over the ordinary college curriculum, and the air has been thick with pamphlets and strong language upon the conflicting claims of Greek and German, and upon the minimum and maximum qualifications of a Bachelor of Arts; but scarce a word for a long century, from the millions most concerned in its settlement, upon the question of the necessity of clinical teaching for the medical students, or upon the minimum amount of instruction which may qualify us to take in charge the sacred lives of our fellow-men.

"There is no one to be blamed for this but the public. Medical men are largely governed by the common influences which control the branches of human industry. Liberal endowments, with wise conditions, have been frequent in other than medical departments of education. But you can count almost on the fingers of one hand the important gifts which have been made during a century to that department, the medical, which of all others most needs

support and supervision, which requires the most costly equipment, the most prolonged period of pupilage, and which prepares its students for the most difficult and responsible of all human occupations.

"As a representative of the University of Pennsylvania, whose medical education has been elevated and maintained by the self-sacrificing labors of her Faculty, it gives me the highest pleasure to testify to the good work which has always been done in this great school—the College of Physicians and Surgeons of New York. But who will pretend to say that our task is yet completed, or that the highest standard exacted here, or at Harvard, or at Michigan, or at the University of Pennsylvania, really represents the honest convictions and earnest wishes of the leaders of the profession, or really affords adequate protection to the community? And if the best be defective, what shall the verdict be for the balance?

"It seems to me, then, Mr. President and Alumni, that an equally notable feature of these great benefactions is that they have been given to the cause of medical education, and given so wisely that their inevitable result must be the elevation of the standard and the development of the true practical character of that education."

As was his habit, he jotted down a few memoranda of the occasion:

"9/29/87.

"Dinner at Delmonico's; ceremonies inaugurating the new buildings, gift of Vanderbilt (College of Physicians and Surgeons, New York).

"The whole appearance of Chauncey Depew is of a man full of vigor; his animation quick, cordial, and sympathetic. He is an accomplished *raconteur*. He is always steady and cool, and, marking the approach of a joke, his face assumes a quizzical, humorous expression, that invites applause which might not come spontaneously. But through many of his talks runs a vein of strong thought and inspiring ideas. One of the speakers, J. C. Dalton, M.D., was

confident of large results which would follow William H. Vanderbilt's first gift of five hundred thousand dollars, as this had been supplemented by two large gifts from other members of the family. But Dalton was a cautious man, and he remarked to me that the prospects of plenty reminded him of an experience of his friend Dr. Tappan, of Brookline, Massachusetts, who one night received a message urgently calling him to the country one or two miles, at eleven P.M. He saddled his horse, and as he drew near he saw in the dim morning light a man running to meet him and gesticulating wildly. 'Ride, doctor, ride,' shouted he, 'there are two of them born already.'"

In October he, by request, presented testimonials to the three student athletes at the University, one of whom, Mr. Page, by a vertical jump of six feet four inches, had won the applause of the athletic world.

"I well understand," said Dr. Pepper, "that this is an occasion for but few words from me. I am here rather to testify by my presence to the approval of this celebration and to the interest in the performances here celebrated which is felt by the official representatives of the University. Such a meeting as this could not have been organized a dozen years ago. The achievements of those in whose honor we have assembled would have been deemed too frivolous to merit consideration, and especially the consideration of those engaged in the work of education and of fitting young men for useful and worthy careers. But careful study of the results of education and prolonged observation of the after careers of our active men have shown that no system of education can be complete which does not embrace the physical as well as the intellectual and moral powers, and that the most frequent cause of the partial or short-lived success of many of our able men is to be seen in the imperfect equipment which they bring to their work; and, speaking for myself and limiting my remarks to college men, I confess I think that more young men injure themselves by excessive or ill-

regulated application to their studies than would be hurt by the fullest cultivation of gymnastic and athletic work under proper supervision. It is too easy to find numerous instances of men who have been successful both in study and in athletics to make it necessary to refer to the fact that of the three principal figures in to-day's meeting one at least has distinguished himself by his University career, while he has won the championship of the world in one branch of athletic work. And I do not attach any strained or exaggerated meaning to this friendly display in different exercises by the representatives of the educated classes of England and America, when I say that it is through the cultivation of manly and courageous qualities and through the promotion of sound education and training among those two great branches of the English-speaking race that the world has most to hope for in the maintenance of peace and in the ultimate triumph of liberty."[1]

His third Report as Provost[2] was made to the Trustees, October 1, 1887, and covered the two preceding years. He paid a graceful tribute to Hon. John Welsh, LL.D., who had died since his last report. Mr. Welsh became a trustee in 1861, while Dr. Pepper was a junior.

"That such a man," said he, "who esteemed the office of Trustee as he did, and devoted to it so much of the care and munificence of a life consecrated to the highest welfare of his fellows, might well inspire his colleagues and the friends of the University with confidence in the loftiness of its purposes and the importance of its work. Assiduously attentive to the details of its business affairs, and broadly liberal in his views of its scholastic

[1] *Philadelphia Press*, October 7, 1887.

[2] Annual Report of the Provost of the University of Pennsylvania, including reports of Departments and an abstract of the Treasurer's Report for the year ending October 1, 1887. Printed for the University, 1888, 128 pp.

development, whether as chairman of the Ways and Means or as a member of department committees, his sagacity, his prudence, and, above all, the essential nobility of his nature, gave him a commanding influence in the councils of the Trustees. For twenty-five years he exercised these qualities in the service of the University, which, when devoted for as many months to the service of his fellow-citizens in the celebration of the National Centennial, impelled them to the grateful tribute of fifty thousand dollars, to be disposed of as he would. Amid all the claims of religion, charity, and public beneficence that were always present with him, he chose the University to be the recipient of the gift, and the John Welsh Centennial Professorship of History and English Literature remains forever one of the monuments to the memory of his pre-eminently pure and useful life." [1]

In these words there was concealed more of filial piety than those might discern who did not know the close sympathy which existed between the two men.

The most urgent need of the University at this time was of a library building, and Dr. Pepper renewed his former appeal for one, but now planned a structure which should be utilized solely as a library. "Encouraging progress," he said, "has been made towards securing the needed fund, the amount subscribed up to the present time being one hundred and fifty thousand dollars." This would erect the fire-proof building, but an endowment fund at least twice as great was needed for its maintenance and extension. He had thrown himself with great zeal into the library movement, and had been instrumental in getting the fund already available. The act of the Board in 1881, establishing the Central Committees of the Alumni, had stimulated that body to renewed interest in the

[1] Provost's Report, 1887, pp. 3–4.

University, the most important expression of which had been the formation of the Association of Graduates living in the City and State of New York. Its first annual dinner had been given at Delmonico's, November 23, 1886, at which Dr. Pepper was present, and the Executive Committee of the New York branch during the next year had visited the University and otherwise showed its interest in it. To save the fruits of this increasing interest among the graduates, he urged the erection of an Alumni Hall.

In May, 1887, the Seybert Commission presented to the Trustees of the University a preliminary report of its investigation on modern Spiritualism.[1] Of this Commission Dr. Pepper was chairman.

"My friend and relative," said he, "Mr. Henry Seybert, who had many conversations with me as to the exact intention of his gift,[2] was far from being a blind believer in Spiritualism. He was deeply interested in the subject and regarded certain phenomena as supernatural, but he was equally aware of the large element of delusion and fraud which is apparently inseparable from the subject. He had no wish to have the claims of Spiritualism vindicated; his desire was to have a fair, searching, and, as far as possible, scientific examination of these claims, and he would have been equally willing to have them repudiated or established according to the evidence adduced. The burden of proof lies with the Spiritualists."[3]

The reference to the approaching ceremonies on the occasion of the hundredth anniversary of the forming and pro-

[1] Provost's Report, 1887, pp. 40, 50.

[2] Sixty thousand dollars and twenty thousand additional for the purpose of prosecuting the investigation.

[3] The Seybert investigation carried on by the University was a scientific test of the claims of spiritualism. The report of the Commission has long been familiar to the public.

mulgation of the Constitution of the United States takes us back to the second of June, 1886, when the Legislature of New Jersey, by a concurrent resolution, invited the Governors and Representatives of the thirteen original States to assemble in Philadelphia in September following to consider the propriety of a national celebration. The original suggestion emanated from Colonel Jesse E. Peyton, of Haddonfield, New Jersey, the father of American centennials. The idea met with popular approval, and on the second of December, the Constitutional Centennial Commission was organized at Philadelphia. The plan grew apace and soon included the active sympathies of representative men from all the States and Territories of the Union. The Commission, through its sub-committees, decided to make the event one of national importance, and to celebrate it by a special recognition of the progress which the nation had made in science, art, and industry.

An immediate and sympathetic response came from the President of the United States, from the Governors of the States, from the heads of the army and navy, and from distinguished men in all callings and professions throughout the Union. In the planning and in the execution of the elaborate program Dr. Pepper bore a conspicuous part. The prospective gathering of a great multitude of people in the city and the execution of the countless details incident to a vast industrial display imposed duties of a delicate and very exacting character. Here was ample opportunity for confusion and mistake. The Centennial of 1876 was a monument of well-arranged plans and successful administration, and many who were identified with its direction were now called upon to officiate in the approaching ceremonies. Conspicuous among these men was Dr. Pepper, whose services

as Medical Director of the Centennial were well known to the public. The approaching celebration had to be planned to interest the multitude and attract the great body of public officials of eminent station throughout the Union. The first industrial display must be planned so as to include an adequate representation of the material interests of the nation, and it must be made in a practical way. Perhaps no part of the celebration involved more careful consideration. The committee in charge of the industrial feature, with characteristic sagacity, welcomed suggestions from all quarters. It is believed that the most useful came from Dr. Pepper.

At the meeting of the local committee he seemed, as by right, and to the evident relief of the committee, to assume direction of the principal matter in question,—the manner of arranging the industrial display for the September celebration. Taking a tablet from his pocket, he consulted some notes which proved to be memoranda on the celebration in 1788, when, New Hampshire, the ninth State to ratify, having adopted the Constitution, the people of Philadelphia, on the fourth of July, celebrated the event with imposing ceremonies.[1] The original program, drawn up by Francis Hopkinson, a member of the first graduating class of the University in 1757, included an industrial display and the participation of the great institutions of Philadelphia of that day in the varied ceremonies. Among these institutions the University of Pennsylvania was conspicuous. Dr. Pepper repeatedly cited Hopkinson's original program, and urged its adoption. He then submitted a plan for the out-door celebrations in September.

[1] See Philadelphia *Packet*, July 4, 1788, and a description of the celebration in the *Packet* of July 9.

Under Dr. Pepper's astute and practical direction the entire public display was planned, and four months later his program was carried out in detail.

Military companies of the State and detachments from the regular army should be present. Innumerable floats bearing representations of art and industry should be drawn in parade. The *pièce de résistance* of the original parade should be drawn from its resting-place and again made the conspicuous object before the people. This was the temple of dazzling white, circular in form and more than twenty feet high, its dome surmounted by a statue of Ceres and supported by ten fluted columns representing the States in the new Union of 1788. Three columns, typical of the three States which in 1788 had not yet ratified the Constitution, were waiting just outside the temple to be placed on their pedestals. The whole was inscribed with the motto, "In Union the fabric stands firm."

Little did they who in 1788 prepared this fragile emblem of the new and feeble Union dream that a century later it should be viewed in a second celebration by more than a million souls. Perhaps, a hundred years hence, this emblem, preserved by the pious care of posterity, may again grace the ceremonies of the bi-centennial of the Constitution.

The three days' ceremonies in commemoration of the framing and signing of the Constitution closed at the Academy of Music on the evening of September 17 with a banquet, given by the learned societies of Philadelphia. The suggestion of this unofficial conclusion of a great matter originated with Dr. Pepper. Naturally he was thought of for the place of honor, and the eight societies united in the following invitation:

"The Historical Society of Pennsylvania,
"1300 Locust Street.
"Philadelphia, September 1, 1887.

"I have the honor to inform you that at a meeting of the general committee representing the University of Pennsylvania, the American Philosophical Society, the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, the College of Physicians of Philadelphia, the Franklin Institute, the Academy of Natural Sciences, the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts, and the Law Academy of Philadelphia I was directed to invite you to preside at the dinner to be given under the auspices of the above societies in the Academy of Music on Saturday evening, September 17th, 1887, to celebrate the centennial anniversary of the framing of the Constitution of the United States.

"Yours very respectfully,
"F. D. Stone,
"*Secretary.*" [1]

Invitations were sent to the President of the United States and members of his Cabinet, to the Chief Justice and the Associate Justices of the Supreme Court, to the leading members of Congress, to the General of the Army, to the Admiral of the Navy, to Foreign Ministers, and to other persons noted for achievements in war and statecraft, or for attainments in literature and science. About five hundred men accepted the invitation, including the President of the United States, ex-President Hayes, and ex-Vice-President Hannibal Hamlin, Cabinet Ministers, the Chief Justice of the United States and Associate Justices, Judges of State courts, Foreign Ministers, Governors of States, eminent clergymen and lawyers, distinguished scientific and literary men, and members of the participating

[1] MS.

societies and their friends. Says Mr. Carson, in his admirable history of the anniversary:

"The Academy was appropriately and tastefully decorated. Over the back part of the stage was a large scroll made of flowers bearing the motto of the State of Pennsylvania, 'Virtue, Liberty, and Independence.' Suspended under the middle word was a representation in evergreen of the 'Liberty Bell.' The seats of the parquet circle were hid from view by a fixed screen of evergreens, palms, and flowers reaching to the floor of the balcony above. Upon the stage appeared a forest scene; tropical plants filled every available space, giving a uniform appearance to the whole surroundings. A carpeted floor one hundred and forty-two feet in length covered the parquet and stage and in it sixteen tables were arranged. An orchestra of forty pieces was placed in the parquet circle. Covers were laid for five hundred guests. Probably never before had so distinguished a company been assembled at a banquet in America.

"Provost Pepper presided, with President Cleveland on his right and ex-President Hayes on his left.[1] At half-past eight o'clock, Mrs. Cleveland, accompanied by Mrs. Waite, wife of the Chief Justice of the United States, Mrs. Miller, wife of Mr. Justice Miller,

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[1] "The *Judicial Table* was presided over by Richard C. McMurtrie, with Chief-Justice Waite on his right; the *Congressional Table*, by Hon. William D. Kelley, with Senator Ingalls on his right; the *Army and Navy Table*, by General John F. Hartranft, with General Sheridan and Rear-Admiral Luce on his right and left respectively; the *Foreign Table*, by Wharton Barker; the *Municipal Table*, by Hon. Edwin H. Fitler, with Hon. Charles J. Chapman, Mayor of Portland, Maine, on his right; the *Governor's Table*, by Hon. James A. Beaver, on his right Governor Fitzhugh R. Lee, of Virginia; the *Centennial Commission Table*, by Amos R. Little, Esq., on his right Hon. John A. Kasson, President of the Commission."—Carson, ii. 362.

of the United States Supreme Court; Mrs. Sheridan, wife of General Sheridan, Mrs. Daniel C. Lamont, and Mrs. J. Dundas Lippincott, entered the balcony box on the south side of the Academy. The doors of the balcony were then thrown open for the entrance of ladies who had received invitations, and in a few minutes nearly every seat was occupied.[1]

The position in which Dr. Pepper found himself on this occasion carried with it duties which might well make a man familiar with social functions of the kind, though of lesser import, nervous and hesitating. But it was his characteristic to be calm on all occasions, and his life-long habit of perfect self-control bore happy fruit at this hour. The success of the banquet rested with him, and he was doubtless as busy a man as any sitting before him, not even excepting the President of the United States. Foreseeing the demands of the occasion, he had prepared himself, and the annals of practical events will be searched in vain for a better illustration of elegance, propriety, learning, and eloquence than were his remarks at the opening of the banquet and those offered in presenting the toasts of the evening.[2]

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[1] History of the Celebration of the Hundredth Anniversary of the Promulgation of the Constitution of the United States, edited by Hampton L. Carson, Secretary of the Constitutional Centennial Commission; published under the direction and by the authority of the Commission, by J. B. Lippincott Company, Philadelphia, 1889, vol. ii. p. 353.

[2] The MSS. of his speeches on this occasion show by their interlineations how carefully he prepared them. The incidents of the banquet are preserved by Mr. Carson in the second volume of his history, pages 363 and 414, and also in a pamphlet of 86 pages entitled "Banquet Given by the Learned Societies of Philadelphia, at

Referring to the banquet which closed the Centennial celebration of 1887, Dr. Pepper said:

"No better way suggested itself of illustrating the influence which education has exerted under our Constitution, than such united action of our leading institutions of learning as would show the position, prestige, and power attained during a single century by these bodies representing in a single city the great interest in education."

The result was in every way gratifying, and the end sought was apparently attained.

In 1887 Dr. Pepper inaugurated a new, popular movement at the University in the public lectures given under the auspices of the University Lecture Association; the first course being delivered by Rodolfo Lanciani on the Archæology of Rome. The purpose of the course, and it was ultimately fully realized, was to bring people from the city to attend lectures at the University, and thus strengthen the University through the social life of the town. Until this course those in society had not attended University lectures.

In his early reports, it will be remembered, he had urged a uniform preparation for college, and he was now able to report encouraging progress in this direction, which, he might have said, was due almost entirely to his own efforts. An association was formed, in 1886, which included the masters of the leading preparatory schools in Pennsylvania, and it was hoped that it would extend to those of the other Middle States. The first meeting was held at the University, and it was largely attended by the school-masters.

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the Academy of Music, September 17, 1887, closing the ceremonies in commemoration of the framing of the Constitution of the United States; Philadelphia, printed for Committee, 1888."

Subsequently steps were taken towards the formation of an Association of the Colleges of Pennsylvania. This resulted in a meeting of the organization at Lancaster, July 5, 1887, at which a large number of these colleges was represented. So great was the interest manifested, that he thought it desirable to bring about a union of the two associations, and he announced that a call had been issued for that purpose.

The Athletic Association had prospered, the gymnasium had been improved, and convincing evidence was furnished, he said, "of the value of properly-regulated gymnastic exercises and athletic sports in forming a higher standard of manly feeling and of personal conduct among the college students." The old thorn of college discipline, which had so vexed his predecessor, was withdrawn, and the malicious spirits which sometimes disturbed the calm of University life were exercised on the athletic field. Dr. Pepper's patronage of college athletics was the most opportune and effective solution of the problem of discipline which the University had ever known. Those picturesque rushes, familiar to the memory of old students, when doors flew off their hinges and chairs flew out of the windows, ceased as soon as a rational system of athletics was administered by the college authorities.

The establishment of the city prize scholarships had produced all the happy effects anticipated. The University had administered them in the most liberal manner and in accord with the views of the Board of Education. On several occasions the number of students had exceeded the fixed limit, —fifty,—but the authorities of the University had felt that every indulgence should be extended which would conduce to the great object in view,—the establishing of a closer organic connection between the various parts of the educa-

tional system of the community. Dr. Pepper's ideal was to have the University become the organic centre of the entire educational system of the Commonwealth. That all obstacles might be removed, so that deserving students might freely pass from the Grammar School through the High School and to their University degrees, it had been decided that graduates of the High School might be admitted to the Freshman class of the University without examination, unless a course was chosen in which Greek was required. In case they brought certificates of unusual proficiency, they might be admitted to advanced standing, on satisfying the Faculty of their readiness to pursue higher studies. Similar privileges had been extended to the graduates of the Philadelphia Manual Training School, an institution established in 1885, and forming a part of the city system. Provost Stillé had recognized the peculiar position of Philadelphia as a commercial and scientific centre, and had been instrumental in founding the Towne Scientific School. Moved by a similar comprehension, Dr. Pepper had urged the equipment of the school so that it might provide ample facilities for those who would pursue the study of applied sciences.

At this time the pressing need of the University was an extension of the laboratory for students in chemistry and engineering.

"There is certainly no city whose prosperity is more closely dependent upon the great processes of applied science than is that of Philadelphia. Nowhere can wealth be more indebted to the co-operation of highly-trained experts in all of these processes. It would seem that the most natural object of pride of Philadelphia would be the possession of a scientific school whose scope, endowment, and equipment should be unsurpassed even if equalled."

The broad foundations of such a school were already laid by means of the munificent bequest of Mr. John Henry Towne. The recognized efficiency of the school led to the decision of the Trustees, in 1886, to give the degree of Bachelor of Science at the end of the fourth year, instead of the fifth, as previously. Of the forty-seven students in the Scientific section of the class of 1887, no less than thirty-five returned to acquire a professional degree by pursuing post-graduate work. "Thus, gradually the Towne Scientific School," continued the report, "is approaching that to which it would seem destined,—that of a strictly graduate school, with a course of practical training during two years based on a College Department in which are provided various elective scientific courses preparatory to the subsequent advanced professional studies." This was a hint of his ideal of the University,—a collection of professional schools.

The Biological School, which now had an organic connection with the College Department, had enjoyed two years of marked prosperity. Its accommodations and equipment, made possible by the devotion and constant liberality of its founder, Dr. Horace Jayne, provided facilities for original investigation. One of its four-year courses was planned as preparatory for the study of medicine. "When the curriculum of the Medical Department has reached its full expansion and extends over four years," said Dr. Pepper, "it will be eminently proper to allow those students who have taken this or an equivalent course in another institution to enter directly the second year of the Medical Department." A range of studies in natural history had been introduced among the elective studies in the Department of Graduates studying in the University, and high hopes were awakened of the valuable results from this arrangement. The Bio-

logical School conducted two expeditions during the summer of 1887,—one to Florida, under Dr. Joseph T. Rothrock; another to the Bahamas, in charge of Dr. Charles S. Dolley and his assistant, Dr. Milton J. Greenman.[1] The latter expedition, which had sailed from New York on the ninth of June, was admirably conducted. Though it might seem that the season of the year was unpropitious for such an enterprise, nearly three hundred species of plants and animals were collected, not including pressed plants, and eleven species were reported as new.[2] The expedition to Florida was followed with a like result.

The period was one of great activity in all departments of the University. The Wharton School was reorganized, its Faculty enlarged and its course extended. An announcement was made of the proposed establishment of an Academy of Political and Social Science in connection with the University, having for its object work in the domain of political and social science similar to that which the Academy of Natural Sciences of Philadelphia was doing in its own fields.[3]

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[1] After completing his undergraduate course at the University, Dr. Greenman entered the Medical School, from which he was graduated in 1893. He was immediately called to assist in the organization of the Wister Institute of Comparative Anatomy. As Assistant Director of this Institution, Dr. Greenman has been enabled to introduce and equip facilities for research of the highest value.

[2] Report of Biological Excursion to the Bahamas, June, 1887, to the Provost of the University, in Provost's Report, pp. 70–73.

[3] See Report of the Wharton School to the Provost by Prof. E. J. James, Provost's Report, pp. 73–78.

Dr. Pepper often returned to his favorite theme, the ideal University, observing that, "As the development of the American University system progresses, more and more importance attaches to the needs of advanced students. The peculiar conditions of our national life call for a universal system of college education with very numerous collegiate institutions scattered over the country. Expressions of regret are heard at the strong tendency to the multiplication of such establishments in America; but it seems not improbable that this tendency arises from something much deeper and better than personal vanity on the part of those who with their wealth found new institutions instead of aiding and strengthening older foundations. It may well be said that it accords best with the genius of our people, favors independence, stimulates local interest and pride in education, and opposes centralization and exclusiveness. But this is true for the present only of the undergraduate work. Advanced students and original investigators must still repair to the older seats of learning, whose rich collections and large corps of special teachers offer the needed facilities. No class of students equal these in importance, for they will become the educators, the scientists, the literature workers of the future; their number is increasing with gratifying rapidity, so that upon the basis of the American college there is growing up a true American university system. The needs of these graduate students should be met with special care and with abounding liberality. Endowed halls of residence with fellowships attached, endowed professorships, which will attract and maintain the teachers in important specialities, special libraries, special laboratories, special funds for the publication of the results of investigations—these are the conditions essential to effective graduate work." [1]

The Department of Philosophy, in its fifth year, had now become more systematically organized, with higher standards and a widely extended list of subjects. It admitted

[1] Provost's Report, 1887, pp. 15–16.

women equally with men as candidates for the Doctorate degree, and made this degree possible to be attained after two years' graduate study, but only in exceptional cases. In order to make the Department efficient, there was needed only an endowment for fellowships, an advance which Dr. Pepper earnestly urged. The University of Pennsylvania is non-sectarian and has made no provision for a Department of Theology, but, as many of its graduates pursue studies in divinity after leaving college, it was decided by the Trustees, in 1887, that a Bachelor of Arts of the University who presented a diploma or certificate from the proper officers of some incorporated theological school or seminary, testifying that he had pursued a full three years' course of theological studies and had satisfactorily passed the required examination in them, might apply to the Board, through the Provost, at the proper time, and the Board at its discretion might confer the degree of Bachelor of Divinity upon the applicant. This action applied only to the graduates of the University, and the departure was experimental. Dr. Pepper said:

"There will be no difficulty, if it be found desirable, in extending its operation so as to cover any divinity school whose curriculum complies with reasonable requirements and whose Faculty may request us to appoint assessors at their examination. The establishment of this degree of B.D. is in accord with the practice of the University from its earliest days of conferring the degree of D.D., and renders complete and harmonious relations with the entire range of graduates and undergraduates."

Ten years had elapsed since the great change had been made in the course of the Medical School,—the adoption of a compulsory three years' course and a corresponding

rearrangement of the curriculum. This step, it will be remembered, was advocated by Dr. Pepper at the time of his well-known address on "Higher Medical Education." Since his inauguration as Provost the annual term in the Medical School had been extended from five to six and a half months, exclusive of the period of examination. The effect had been to place the Medical School far in advance of any other in the country, except that of Harvard University, which had originated and first inaugurated the change. Dr. Pepper now urged a further extension of the course from three to four years and making all the sessions of equal length. But this implied very great expense and the raising of adequate funds, to which for several years he had given a large portion of his activities.

The Dental Laboratory had been reorganized since his last report, and was admirably adapted to the needs of the revised and extended curriculum. Equally encouraging was the report from the Law School. It had recently acquired the valuable library of Benjamin Harris Brewster, Esq., through the generosity of the immediate family of the late George Biddle, Esq., a distinguished member of the Philadelphia bar. This noble gift of books, the Trustees determined, should be known as the George Biddle Memorial Law Library of the University of Pennsylvania, and the Law Faculty provided for its proper maintenance and growth by appropriating not less than thirteen hundred dollars per annum to the purpose. The increasing attendance at the Law School made imperative some settlement of the question of its permanent location and housing. At this time the law lectures were given in the college building. The Provost suggested that for the better convenience of professors and students the school should be located

nearer the city and federal courts, which were held in the lower part of the city. The Provost renewed his appeal for funds wherewith to erect a suitable building convenient to the courts and law offices and affording accommodations for a large and growing library and for a large class of students in both general and special courses, and he announced that the Board had appointed a committee "with power to prepare and issue an appeal to the legal profession and to the public to consider sites and plans, and to prepare and submit a scheme of large instruction." In suggesting or sanctioning the return of the Law School to the city Dr. Pepper adopted a plan which doubtless contributed to the growth of the school in numbers and financial strength for the time being; but the school in the city ceased to be, in any real sense, a part of the University, and the process of restoring it to its academic position was painful and slow.

The preceding two years, he said, had been peculiarly important ones in the history of the University. They had witnessed the establishment, through the liberality of valued friends of the University, of an admirably equipped Training School for Nurses and the installation of an efficient female superintendent of nursing. During the winter of 1887–88 a comprehensive course of nursing was given by a corps of the Hospital Staff, and awakened much public interest. A feature of this report was the departmental reports, which were particularly full and instructive, and the Bibliography of the University Faculty for the two years ending 1887, of some six hundred titles of printed works in science, art, literature, law, and theology, gave abundant evidence, as he said, that all departments of literature and science were being explored and illustrated by active workers connected with the University Staff.

It was towards the close of the year 1887 that Dr. Pepper first communicated his intention of resigning the Provostship. His letter, sent to the Board of Trustees in December, contained this news and also suggestions of important improvements in the University.

"December, 1887.

"I beg the attention of the Board to a statement which I am led to make at this time by the repeatedly expressed wish of some of our Alumni that the year 1891 should now be declared an anniversary year for the University. It might fittingly be called the Centennial Anniversary, because it was in 1791 that our escheated charter and estates were restored, and that the continuous existence of the University began. It might be styled the Jubilee year, because nothing is needed but united and determined effort to secure for the University by that time the few great accessions which alone are required to make her position fully satisfactory. For it may be said to-day that all her Departments, with a single exception, are more prosperous than at any previous date. The Medical Department is contemplating further important advances which will be reported upon by the Chairman of your Committee; but at the present her position as the leading and best equipped Medical School of America is conceded. The classes of the Law School are larger than ever before; the Faculty and the course of instruction have been enlarged, and important measures are under consideration for the future increase of the prosperity and dignity of this Department. The Dental and Veterinary Departments are recognized as the best-equipped and most advanced schools of their kind in English-speaking countries.

"The College Department is the only one which gives cause for anxiety, but there is good reason to believe that if certain important changes are made, and certain important needs supplied, there will be a speedy accession of prosperity to this Department also. During the past seven years the acquisition of land has given to the University unrivalled territorial advantages. Her organization, which

is the most comprehensive I know of among educational institutions, has been rendered compact and harmonious. The spirit of unity and co-operation which inspires the Faculties and the students of all Departments has awakened an unprecedented activity among the Alumni. Organizations are being formed in various parts of the country from which much valuable aid may be confidently expected. It is indeed apparent that nothing is required save a united and determined effort on the part of your Honorable Board to secure before 1891 all the conditions which will start the University on her second century with absolute assurance of surpassing success.

"Before specifying the important recommendations which I have been requested by your Joint Committee of Arts and Sciences to report to your Board, it is proper to state here that it seems impossible for me to look forward to a much longer continuance in the high office with which you have honored me. It is now this month seven years since I assumed its duties, and I have been surprised to find that my health has borne even thus long the strain to which I have subjected myself. Indeed, I have felt that this continuance of my health and strength has been an indication that my work for the University was not yet ended. But I am sure that at the very latest date I must look forward to resigning in 1891, so as to be able thenceforward to devote myself exclusively to medical work and to promoting the interests of the Medical Department of the University. No decrease in my interest in the general welfare of the University enters into this decision. It is almost thirty years since my connection with the University began, and since then it has been my constant aim to promote her welfare. Nor am I influenced by any dissatisfaction with the emoluments of the office I hold. The salary now paid was agreed on between your then Chairman of the Committee of Ways and Means, Mr. John Welsh, and myself as a nominal sum which was to be increased as soon as the finances of the University were brought into a better condition. Any such increase would never, however, have made any difference to me, since I have scrupulously returned to

your Treasury all and more than all that I have received either for teaching or for administration. I would gladly see several large projects realized before our centennial year, so that my successor might find the University fully equipped in all Departments. The first of these imperative needs is a fire-proof library building, and I would ask you to refer with power to your Committee of Ways and Means and of Buildings the preparation of plans, the selection of a site, and the prosecution of the work as soon as the needed funds are in hand. We have already $25,000 paid in and $40,000 more subscribed. It is clear that an earnest effort will secure the balance; and there are two important considerations which urge you at this time to pledge yourselves to erect at an early date on the University grounds a fire-proof library building, to cost not less than $150,000, to be maintained always as a free library of reference for the community.

"The first of these is connected with the proposed exploring expedition to Babylon, under Rev. John P. Peters. The sum already subscribed justifies the belief that the entire sum will be raised; and the conditions of the subscriptions are that all the collections secured shall be the property of the University of Pennsylvania, provided suitable accommodation in a fire-proof building is supplied. It is needless to point out the advantages which would ensue from this enterprise. The second is even more important. The only ground needed to complete the University property is the triangle at Thirty-sixth and Woodland Avenue, on which the police station stands. It is not proposed to displace the latter, or to prevent the establishment of a fire-patrol station in connection with it. Both of these are desirable neighbors. But negotiations which I have been conducting with the proper committees of City Councils justify the hope that it may be possible to acquire the balance of the triangle without cost on condition of erecting on the University ground at an early date such a library building as above described. I may add that Mr. Frank Furness has already prepared plans for such a structure, with an alumni building or theatre adjoining, drawn

with special reference to this piece of ground as a site. His opinion is that it is, in fact, admirably adapted for the purpose. The plans will be submitted to your committee, to which I trust you will refer the subject with power.

"The project to erect an alumni memorial hall is a significant indication of the cordial relations now existing between the University and her graduates. A vigorous organization of those living in New York has been effected, and they are about entering on the collection of a fund for their building. Similar organizations will be formed this winter in Boston by our graduates in various parts of New England, and in Washington by our graduates in the District of Columbia and in Maryland.

"A second need, scarcely less imperative than that of a library building, is the collection of the additional funds for the erection and equipment of a building for the laboratory of chemistry and metallurgy. We owe the initiative of this important movement to the liberality of two members of your Board (Mr. Henry Houston, Mr. Joseph D. Potts), and such progress has already been made that when the even more urgent need of a library building has been supplied it is probable that the laboratory fund can be brought to completion.

"But I must say further that your joint Committee of Arts and Sciences, with whom I have held anxious deliberations on this subject, have instructed me to report to you that, in their judgment, certain important changes must be made in the teaching force of the College Department, in order to render it fully efficient and to secure for it the prosperity which all other Departments of the University are enjoying.

"I beg, therefore, that your Board will take prompt action on the proposition about the library building, on the proposition to accept the conditions attached to the Babylonian expedition, and on the above report from the Joint Committee of Arts and Sciences.

"WILLIAM PEPPER, *Provost.*"

On the 13th of February, 1888, the Alumni of the University of Pennsylvania in New York gave a dinner. Dr.

Pepper's speech on that occasion furnishes a clue to the activities in progress at the University, and also to his educational ideals.

"It is true that the mere number of students is not a test of the activity and influence of a university. The elevation of standard and tone, the seriousness of the instruction and study, these determine the grade and the influence of any educational institution. In several fields of our work it may fairly be claimed that the methods and results are unrivalled. Equally must the force of a university be measured by the number and value of original publications produced by its teachers. The list published in my annual reports will convince all that thus measured your Alma Mater is true to the highest standard of duty. Allusion has been made to the successful presentation by our undergraduates of the Acharnians, both in Philadelphia and here in New York. Eminent scholars have united in extolling the service thus rendered to American scholarship. But even greater service will be rendered by the projected expedition to Babylon, if the facilities desired can be secured. Not the least gratifying evidence of the rapidly growing resources and fame of the University is the rapidly increasing number of advanced students, mostly graduates, who are coming to us. A very few years ago this most desirable class of students was not represented at all; now there are no less than one hundred and twenty in attendance. This is in spite of the absence of endowed fellowships, and of all the needs of the University to-day there is not one more urgent than that for a number of such foundations, costing not more than $8000 or $10,000 each, and providing maintenance for an advanced student during the tenure of his fellowship. There is, indeed, no greater demand in American education to-day than for such endowments as these.

"The special sources of strength of the University are not only the excellence of teachers and equipment and methods. Her organization seems as good and as comprehensive as can be desired. Her

territorial advantages, comprising over thirty acres of land in the heart of that great city whose climate and advantages of residence are superior to those of any other large American city, indicate unerringly the future pre-eminence she will attain. Never until now have the authorities of the University felt called upon to introduce the dormitory system. But with the larger demands of the past few years has come the conviction that we must supply halls of residence, constructed upon the most approved plans, as an addition to the extensive system of private boarding-houses which now accommodate the students of the University. The first of these dormitories will be built the coming year. It will be constructed by University funds, but the investment will be a good one. A recent canvass of the various departments discloses the fact that fully fifty per cent. of all the students would prefer residence in such college halls, and it is clear that the construction of the first will be followed speedily by the demand for others, and that here will be a field where the activity of our graduates and the liberality of our benefactors may well display itself in the years to come.

"No better illustration can be given of the way in which are supplied the needs of a great educational institution which is doing its full duty than the present movement for establishing a great library in connection with the University. The gifts to our library during the past few years have been wholly unprecedented in their extent and value, so that it had become imperatively necessary to provide a spacious fire-proof building for its accommodation, in order that it might be accessible not only to the students of the University but to the entire community. No sooner was it known that we would undertake to supply this great need of the public and the University than large subscriptions were made by many liberal persons, and within a few weeks no less than $140,000 has been secured, with the sure prospect of getting all that is required, which is fully $200,000 more. With this fund we shall erect a library building on the most approved plans, with a capacity of not less than 500,000 volumes, and shall conduct it as a library of reference, free for the

entire community. For it is characteristic of the University of Pennsylvania that her work is not merely the instruction of a limited number of students, however considerable; not the affording opportunities of advanced study and original investigation to distinguished scholars; but the larger task of elevating the entire educational system and inspiring the intellectual life of a vast community. An organic bond has been made between the University and the public school system of Philadelphia by the permanent establishment of fifty prize scholarships, which are open to all deserving students of these schools.

"The methods and standard of the University will exert a controlling influence over those of the High School and the Grammar Schools, and there is not a child of that great city, however lowly in birth, to whom is not open freely, as the reward of faithful work, the path from the Kindergarten to the highest honors of the University. Such is the ideal of the American University; such the position and organization which assure us that as 'now we see what after ages shall,' we see that she is destined to become one of the great, eminent, and overshadowing institutions of the world.

"You ask me the great needs of the University and I have told you: fellowships, dormitories, a great library. One more and the most important is to be named, the growing and ever-growing zeal and devotion of the Alumni. Beside the precious aid they can render by indirect and impalpable means there is one urgent practical work to which they should address themselves. There is needed a great Memorial Alumni Hall, built on the lands of our Alma Mater, by the loving hands of her own children. The ground for this building will cheerfully be appropriated by the Trustees. A most auspicious opportunity presents itself to erect it in conjunction and in architectural harmony with the library building. The plans under consideration for the building and for securing the co-operation of Alumni will be fully explained to you. In such a hall would our most cherished associations centre; there would all important University ceremonies occur, and thither year after year would our steps

turn to meet the friends of our youth, to renew the happy days, to replenish the ever-burning lamp of love and zeal for Alma Mater. In such work who of us will not gladly take a part, and the united gifts of our loving Alumni will successfully rear a hall of our own that will attest imperishably that zeal and that love. Time presses and the work should be accomplished without delay, for it has been decided that in 1891, which is the Centennial Anniversary of the restoration to the University of her charter and estates, there shall be a celebration worthy of the occasion, and when representatives of learned institutions in all parts of the world visit our Alma Mater it were usually well that they not find wanting such proof of our filial devotion."

A few days later he received an invitation from Dr. Stewart, of Erie, an old Alumnus of the University:

"1848. 1888.

"Dr. J. L. Stewart requests the pleasure of your presence at a dinner tendered to him by the members of the Erie County Medical Society, to be given at the Reed House, Erie, Pennsylvania, upon the evening of March 13, at 8 P.M., it being the occasion of the Fortieth Anniversary of his entry upon the practice of medicine."

This was accompanied by the following letter:

"ERIE, February 28, '88.

"If you can possibly spare the time from your many and pressing duties to write a letter to be used at the dinner on the 13th, I would esteem it a great favor.

"In addition to the members of our Society there will be a number of physicians present from the adjoining counties of New York and Ohio.

"With considerations of respect and esteem, I am,

"Fraternally yours,

"J. L. STEWART.

"P. S.—You know that I am a graduate of the good old University." [1]

[1] MS.

Dr. Pepper's answer well illustrates his habit of utilizing every opportunity to extend the influence of the University:

"PHILADELPHIA, March 7, 1888.

"MY DEAR DR. STEWART,—

"I have received an invitation to be present at the banquet tendered you by the members of the Erie County Medical Society on the fortieth anniversary of your entrance into the medical profession. It would be peculiarly agreeable to accept this courteous invitation, but circumstances beyond my control forbid it.

"I should value highly the opportunity of meeting my professional brethren who tender this banquet, and of uniting with them in doing honor to one whose long professional career has been so useful and so honorable. I should be no less glad of the opportunity of testifying to the good work done by the medical men of your great county, and of the adjoining counties of Pennsylvania and New York, in contributing to medical science, in supporting a high tone of professional feeling and conduct, and in encouraging and favoring the maintenance of the highest standard of medical education.

"I should like to do this personally, and I would feel added gratification if I might then venture to speak as representing the University of Pennsylvania, whose medical diploma you received just forty years ago. I should then remind you of the illustrious career of that venerable institution for well nigh a century and a half; of her growth in resources and fame; of the great men who have at all times been found in her faculties; and of her present condition of unprecedented prosperity.

"And to what influences, would I ask, are such gratifying results to be traced? Chiefly, in the first place, to the noble lives of her graduates and of their loyal devotion to their Alma Mater. They have carried with them to all parts of the world the lessons there learned, not only in medical science, but in medical ethics and in medical enthusiasm; and they have returned dutifully the benefits

they received by an unswerving support of all her measures for the advancement of medical education and of all the highest professional interests. Need I say that this occasion derives not a little of its dignity and significance from the fact that you, the chief guest, are notably one who, ever since his graduation at the University of Pennsylvania, has through a long career illustrated the truth of all I have just said.

"And again, it will be conceded that the position of the Medical Department of the University of Pennsylvania is largely due to the disinterested and public-spirited tone of its administration from its early days,—a tone which I am proud to say is as conspicuous now as ever.

"The fame and privileges which such institutions enjoy impose upon all who share them, whether trustees, teachers, or graduates, weighty obligations. They owe to it allegiance; they owe to it generous support; they owe to it the example of their own lives.

"Much has been accomplished for the elevation of our noble and beloved profession. Yet much more remains to be done. It can be achieved only by united action and by harmonious organization. May the fraternal feelings aroused by such happy occasions as this long remain with us to inspire to renewed zeal in the support of all that conduces to the welfare of the brotherhood, and to the promotion of truth and knowledge.

"I beg you to believe me, with the most cordial wishes for your continued health and happiness,

"Yours fraternally,

"WILLIAM PEPPER."

On the twenty-fourth of April occurred the fiftieth anniversary of Dr. D. Hayes Agnew's entrance into the medical profession and the close of his half-century of medical teaching in the University. The unique occasion was fittingly observed by the Alumni of the University, many of whom,

like Dr. Pepper, had studied under Agnew. Dr. Pepper's remarks on this occasion were exceedingly happy.

"It is fitting that this imposing celebration should occur here within the walls of the University, because it has been in the service of the University that many of the great qualities of our distinguished and beloved guest have been most conspicuously displayed, and because I know he feels happiest when thus surrounded by his own brethren, who share with him to the full his devotion to Alma Mater. It might seem out of place were I to dwell at length on the technical features of Dr. Agnew's surgical career. Some thoughts there are, however, which force themselves on the mind of any clinician in regarding that stretch of fifty years' continuous labor in one of the most important and progressive fields of human industry. One cannot but recognize in this work a breadth and comprehensiveness almost unique. If we must admit specialism as the inevitable result, just as it is in large measure the determining cause, of the progress and precision of medical science, still we shall not dispute the pre-eminence of those rare natures whose wider range embraces many special fields, and by enabling them to see truth from many sides imparts to their judgment a philosophic breadth and perspective. When I recall the basis of profound anatomical study on which Dr. Agnew's work has been built up; the patient pursuit of pathology with microscope as well as scalpel, in days when histology was a rare acquirement; the successful career at Wills Hospital, which made him famous among the early ophthalmologists; the brilliancy of his work as a pioneer in the field of gynæcology; his deserved eminence as an authority in genito-urinary diseases; it is evident that here has been one of those exceptional careers, ever progressing, assimilating, developing, until there is attained that combination of immense experience, of infinite expedient, and of calm, chastened judgment which commands the confidence of the entire profession, and upon which a nation rested with implicit faith through weary weeks of agonized waiting.

"Again it may be noted that not the least remarkable feature in such a career is the happy blending of conservatism with progress. Too often do years and success convert the conservative into the fossil; too rarely do they bring balance and moderation to the radical. How admirable, then, is that still rarer spectacle of mature wisdom joined with the intellectual activity and assimilative power of youth. It seems to me a fine thing for a man at the close of fifty years of teaching and practice to be in close touch with the latest procedure, even in regard to such complicated problems as those of abdominal and cerebral surgery. But it is a more valuable lesson to see one of the highest authorities on all points of practical surgery, at the age of well nigh threescore and ten years, seize upon the earliest announcement, subject to immediate searching trial, and, upon convincing evidence, adopt finally such new and epoch-making teachings as those of Lister. It seems to me among the crowning distinctions of Dr. Agnew's career that he so promptly threw the weight of his great authority in America on the side of thorough antisepsis. But I may not venture to dwell longer on matters so technical. That to which I can more fitly allude is the portion of his career which concerns medical education, especially in connection with the University of Pennsylvania. It were superfluous to state here what Dr. Agnew has been in his personal relations with the thousands of physicians who have trusted him and depended on his counsel in the gravest professional anxieties. It were equally needless to express—for do not nearly all here know well from experience—what he has been as teacher and friend to the even larger number who have learned their anatomy and their surgery from his lips and hands. Simple and unaffected, yet always clear and forcible, his lectures seemed to me models both for manner and matter, admirably adapted to convey instruction, to awaken thought, to impress upon his hearers the dignity and importance of the study. And in his clinical teaching what a happy blending of calm science and benign humanity! No matter how critical the emergency, you felt that his courage and the

resources of his skill were equal to it; no matter how free from danger the operation, you never failed to recognize in touch and manner that sacred sympathy with suffering, the absence of which may degrade the highest skill almost to brutality.

"No one ever studied under Dr. Agnew without feeling that in him he had found a true friend. Even the terrors of final examination were finally dispelled by the assurance of his indulgent though just judgment. No graduate ever left the University without carrying with him, graven on the tablets of his memory, the character and conduct of Dr. Agnew, so that his figure should remain high among the heroes of his worship and of his emulation. No estimate can place too high the value and the far-reaching power of such an influence as this. It has helped thousands to become not only good surgeons, but good honorable men.

"Nor have Dr. Agnew's services to medical education and to the University been limited to his personal teachings and personal example. In all the long series of deliberations and practical changes, extending over fifteen years down to this very day, which have resulted in making the University universally recognized as more than ever the leading medical school of the continent, the best exponent of thorough scientific and practical teaching and training, he has been the consistent supporter of reform and progress, and has borne his full share in every measure adopted. It is not strange, then, that at this anniversary time the University should, as has to-day been ordered by the Board of Trustees, confer upon this her honored son her highest academic title. It is not strange that we—some his pupils, some his colleagues, all his loving friends and brethren—should throng these halls, and lend our voices to the swelling chorus of heartfelt admiration for what he has done and for what he has been. Gladly would I linger on this theme, but my function here to-night is only to introduce, in a few words, one who may fitly speak more fully, since in name and official station, and by his own eminent repute, he truly represents him who in

his day was, as is Agnew now, the acknowledged head and leader of the surgical profession in America." [1]

In June he delivered an address before the graduating class at Ogontz, on "The Higher Education of Women," a subject to which he had referred, it will be remembered, in his inaugural address as Provost. The subject had long engaged his thoughts and awakened his sympathies. In his last report as Provost he had announced that the Doctorate degree was open to women on the same terms as to men in the University, but as yet, excepting in the Biological School, women were not admitted to undergraduate study.

"Many times when I have looked at a class of young men about graduating and entering their professions, I have felt that thorough education and thorough womanhood are not incompatible attainments; but that, on the other hand, there are strong grounds for believing that the higher education can be pursued by girls, under suitable conditions, not only with safety, but with advantage to their physical development. As a physician, I am of course well aware of the injurious effects on girls of excessive study, pursued under the unfavorable conditions which have usually obtained in their schools. I have seen many sad illustrations of it. If such conditions were to continue, I could sympathize with the exclamation of Sir B. Brodie, who said he never saw a girl with a school-book in her hand without feeling a desire to throw it at her head.

"Consider these conditions as they have existed for the most part until recently. Unquestionably many of the most forcible arguments as to the effect of higher education on girls have been drawn

[1] University of Pennsylvania, April 24, 1888: Remarks made on the Occasion of the Alumni Testimonial to Dr. D. Hayes Agnew, by Dr. William Pepper, Provost of the University.

from the Normal schools. In the last report of the Commissioner of Education there were in our Normal schools 16,106 female and 6,894 male students. I think I can assert without fear of contradiction that most of the buildings occupied as Normal schools are defective hygienically; that the provisions for physical culture are wretchedly inadequate; that the educational method is often one of hasty, ruinous cramming, and that a large proportion of the students come to these schools from grammar schools where the conditions have been equally prejudicial. It seems absurd to lay to the charge of hard study alone the ill-health which often develops in these students, and to fail to take into account the hereditary tendencies, the home surroundings, the depressing conditions, the utter absence of healthy, invigorating recreation and excercise out of school. Have you followed any large number of girls, drawn from the same class of society, into occupations which do not tax the brain by study—into the shops, the mills, the factories—where, as a rule, the neglect of hygienic rules is no less striking? The ill-health may there assume other forms, but ill-health and stunted development there are in sad, sad plenty.

"Many, if not most, of the denunciations of the ill effects of the higher education of women have come from medical specialists whose opportunities of observation have been chiefly among women. Had they seen, as I have seen, the bad results of high-pressure education of boys under unfavorable hygienic conditions, they would have been willing to denounce the latter. But it is a notable fact that for years past the attention of educators and of public benefactors has been directed to improving the conditions under which boys and young men get educated in this country; and the result, as contrasted with the small amount given to promote the education of women, may be briefly summed up in the statement that of the benefactions to the cause of higher education during the last year in America, for which data are accessible, only four per cent. went to institutions for women, and of these four per cent. five-sixths went to five colleges. We have a right to ask, at least,

that judgment shall be suspended until for girls who are pursuing a higher education there are provided facilities as adequate as those which have been created for young men.

"The case merely needs a varied statement, and is not really different, when we consider the position of girls whose parents are rich enough to pay for protracted and thorough education. Consider the average school-house: badly lighted, worse ventilated, not at all adapted for its purpose; without playground, and with, at most, an apology for a gymnasium. Consider the curriculum, and the attempt to crowd into a few years many and difficult studies. Then the added tax of weariness and confinement imposed by music and dancing. Add to this the frequent late hours and the precocious party, and tell me how far it is fair to attribute to education the ill-health which is rather due to errors in diet, in dress, in exercise, or in any of the essentials of hygiene. Education is certainly not to be blamed, for true education cannot exist under such conditions. Stupid over-instruction, with more stupid neglect of hygiene and physical culture, may indeed be held responsible for the mischief.

"Nothing is education which does not evoke the best powers of the whole nature. We have had to wait for centuries before the education of our boys and young men could escape from the trammels of monasticism and be modelled anew on the larger and freer types of ancient Greece. A few years cannot suffice to evolve the result; but already the whole physical condition of our college students has undergone a salutary change. Higher education is found compatible with higher physical development and vigor; and the teacher, the preacher, the professional man of the future, will be as careful of his body as of his mind, and will recognize that the latter serves him best when the former is best cared for. It has been my business for many years to watch the health and physical development of successive crops of young men; and he must be unobservant, indeed, who has not noted, as I have done, the steadily-rising average of physical condition coincident with a steadily-rising standard of scholarship.

"Doubtless the best education for a girl differs in some important particulars from the best adapted to the other sex. These are, however, mere matters of detail. The fundamental position to which I adhere is simply this: That we have as yet no sufficient evidence to show that when girls have carefully-arranged higher education provided for them, under the proper hygienic conditions, and with a curriculum of adequate length, it will be found incompatible with the simultaneous development of the best physical health, and with their subsequent perfect womanhood.

"Evidently all this, if it be shown to be true, as I am absolutely confident it will be, still lacks the addition of a motive which shall lead girls to desire the higher education and shall lead parents to willingly pay for it. It might content us to observe that whatever is truly best for the individual—whatever tends to elevate the character, and to evoke the full powers, and to complete the nature—must be good for the race; and that the race which can reckon the largest number of individuals so trained and developed will stand the best chance of producing those great men and women who, by their gifts and their achievements, mark the advance of humanity; and will also stand the best chance of raising the general average of manhood and of womanhood. And it must be added that with such education of mind and body will come a greater capacity for a greater chance of acquiring happiness. The course I would commend would occupy a girl up to the age of twenty or twenty-one, and would keep her out of society until that time. A more desirable result I cannot conceive. The amount of ill-health and unhappiness which comes from the precocious and excessive excitement of exertion connected with such lives as our young girls in society now lead is tenfold greater than all which can be charged against over-education. When thoughtful parents come to understand this, they will gladly bear the added expense of the longer and thorough tuition. When sensible girls come to understand it, they will establish the habit, or set the fashion, and it will soon become the thing to do. For they will see that not only are the women

who are highly educated under these better conditions healthier and happier, because they have infinite resources and objects of active interest; but they will see that a reasonable delay in entrance on social life, and a more mature development of character, will render them more attractive and companionable to the best men, and will lessen the risk of ill-assorted marriages.

"And further, there are not wanting increasing and splendid proofs that as this truth that higher education rightly pursued is as good for the woman as for the man becomes more generally recognized the stream of benefactions will flow in this channel also, and we shall have ever enlarging and widening facilities of education provided for her as well as for him.

"I am aware that I have not alluded to what is the most obvious and practical purpose of this advanced education in many instances at present. This is to fit the student for some profitable occupation which may enable her to earn her living, and thus support herself in independence. It were idle to speculate on the ultimate result of the constantly increasing share taken by American women in practical life. It does not concern us of this generation that at some distant day the franchise may be extended to them. This question cannot now be regarded as a practical one; though one is often tempted to wish that this sovereign right might be taken from the illiterate and the irresponsible and be enjoyed only on property and educational basis by both sexes alike.

"Nor does it concern us that at some distant day, when this continent is densely peopled, the struggle for existence may be all the more keen and severe because our women have been trained, as far as may prove possible, to be the intellectual peers of men. New social conditions and needs will, it is to be hoped, bring with them solutions consistent with morality and human happiness. The immediate concern of the moment is that, as every year new fields of activity are being opened to our women, and as the interests of the community apparently demand the services of a constantly enlarging number of well trained and highly educated women, we

shall throw our influence strongly in favor of the largest extension of educational facilities to them consistent with vested rights. I believe that this may be done for all classes of women alike, just as it is for all classes of men; as well as for those who desire the higher education solely for the elevation and distinction it will confer on them as for those who seek it for a more practical purpose, not only without danger to the future vigor of our race, but with incalculable advantage to the intellectual and physical qualities of our descendants."[1]

The College Association of the Middle States and Maryland held its annual convention at the University in July. Of this Association Dr. Pepper was the president, to which office he was at this meeting re-elected. He had originated the Association. At first it consisted only of a few men from the colleges in Pennsylvania; but his purpose was more comprehensive than the formation of a local educational circle. He recognized the unity of the Middle States as an educational community, and at this meeting of the Association effected its reorganization under a new name. His address was a review of the progress which had been made in the plan of uniformity in college preparation throughout the country which he had formerly advocated. He renewed his plea for more thorough preparation and closer association than had hitherto existed between the institutions in the Middle States which conferred degrees.

As Provost of the largest University in the Middle States he could with eminent propriety express his appreciation of the work which the smaller colleges were doing. There is

[1] Remarks on the Higher Education of Women. Delivered at Ogontz, June, 1888: William Pepper, M.D., LL.D., Provost of the University of Pennsylvania. Pamphlet, 8 pp.

ample evidence that at first some of the presidents of these colleges viewed with alarm his energetic administration of the University. They seemed to feel that he was striking them a deadly blow; but theirs was the ideal of the college while his was the ideal of the University. He desired to remove all chances of friction by making the University of Pennsylvania a true university, thus attracting the graduates of the smaller colleges. The College Department of the University had to be maintained for obvious reasons, and he would have it as completely organized as possible; but his energies were directed, it must be acknowledged, towards the development of the University. He would have it become the scholastic home of all the youth of the Middle States who were seeking graduate instruction. Incidental to his plan was the elevation of the standard of preparation for college. Thus he began at the bottom with the fitting schools.

The standard of admission should be uniform among the Middle State colleges, and thus enable the head-masters of the fitting schools to know exactly what would be required of their students. The scheme was a large one, and involved the management of some discordant elements. It was to promote harmony and effectiveness among all the educational institutions of the Middle States that the College Association had been organized by Dr. Pepper, and now at its annual meeting he emphasized the essentials of harmony and effectiveness: adequate, uniform preparation for colleges throughout the region represented by the Association. The object for which he labored was a desirable one, but it made demands of an exacting nature. As long as Dr. Pepper remained Provost of the University the Association was likely to be continued and the purpose of its formation furthered, but

many who belonged to it could not refrain from inquiring how the retirement or death of Dr. Pepper would affect the organization. It was one of those questions which constantly arise in connection with the labors of an extraordinary man in any field.

Time has proved the value of his efforts to secure the objects for which the Association was formed, and to-day all the educational institutions in the Middle States which confer degrees are in closer and friendlier association, the standard of scholarship among them is higher, and the conditions of admission to their courses more reasonable and uniform because of his efforts.

V

THE UNIVERSITY

1888–1890

THE administration of University affairs during the two years closing October 1, 1889,[1] occupied a period of "great interest and unprecedented prosperity." The most important event affecting the future of the institution was the acquisition of ten additional acres of land to the University property in West Philadelphia, making its possession very nearly forty acres and a half.[2] This acquisition means more than it might at first suggest, for it secured to the University the strip of land which lay between its former holding and that portion of the Blockley farm, seventy-three acres, which had been preserved by the city to be improved as a public park. The acquisition removed the last anxiety of the Trustees that the University might lack sufficient ground for its growth.

In 1887 the Library Building was begun. Dr. Pepper's

[1] Report of the Provost of the University of Pennsylvania for the two years ending October 1, 1889, with abstracts from the Treasurer's Annual Report. Printed for the University, 1889, 172 pp.

[2] It formed a continuous tract "protected to the southwest by Woodland Avenue, thence it follows the line of Woodland Avenue for two thousand feet to Walnut and Thirty-fourth Streets, and thence in a southeasterly direction it extends almost to the river (Schuylkill), where it is protected by the line of the Pennsylvania Railroad." Id., p. 6.

efforts, beginning on his inauguration day, had at last culminated in the construction of a suitable building. "As always happens," said he, "the clear statement and recognition of the need of the University was followed by a determined effort to supply it." As the University had no free funds available for the purpose, a committee was organized, and subscriptions amounting to $220,000 had already been received, of which $180,000 were for construction and $40,000 for additions to the endowment. All this money was secured through the personal efforts of the Provost. The well-known architect, Mr. Frank Furness, planned a building of nice adaptation to its ends. It provided storage capacity for 350,000 books, but the book-stack admitted of indefinite extension. It was at first planned that the building should stand at the corner of Thirty-sixth Street and Woodland Avenue, directly opposite the Medical School, and that site was conveyed to the Trustees by City Councils in 1888 for the purpose.[1]

One of the conditions in the ordinance was that the Trustees should erect and maintain a fire-proof library building, and provide means to support it as "a free library of reference, open to the entire community." Upon further consideration, and owing to the prospective foundation of a new scientific institution which might be allied with the University, it was decided to change the site of the Library to the College campus on Thirty-fourth Street, but a portion of the campus was still by law a part of Locust Street. Most generously the City Councils vacated the section of the street occupied by the College campus, and thus removed the last obstacle

[1] See the Ordinance, March 21, 1888, in Provost's Report for 1894, p. 57.

to the erection of the Library Building.[1] The corner-stone of the new building was laid on the 15th of October, 1888, with Masonic rites, by the officers of the Right Worshipful Grand Lodge of Free and Accepted Masons of Pennsylvania, many of the officers of which during the past century had held positions of trust and influence in the government of the University.

The acquisition of the final site for the Library was bitterly opposed in the city by a small but vigorous faction. Every argument was exhausted to prejudice Councils against the grant. Even ex-Provost Stillé was dragged into the attacking column. An open letter written by him, opposing the grant, was published in a local paper. To Dr. Pepper's invitation to be present at the laying of the corner-stone of the Library, Dr. Stillé nevertheless replied as follows:

"October 10, 1888.

"MY DEAR DOCTOR:

"I need hardly say that I have great pleasure in accepting your invitation to be present at the laying of the corner-stone of the new Library Building of the University on Monday next.

"I congratulate you most sincerely upon the result of your efforts to secure the erection of this building. When I remember what the Library was when you and I first saw it, and what it now promises to be in its new quarters, I must say that the success of your efforts to raise the money to erect the building is only the last, perhaps the strongest, evidence of the wonderful energy and vigor which have characterized your administration of the University.

"With high regards,

"Faithfully yours,

"C. J. STILLÉ."[2]

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[1] Ordinance approved April 3, 1888. Id., p. 58.

[2] MS.

Mr. Joseph Wharton, founder of the Wharton School of Finance and Economy, had made a generous contribution of $25,000 as a library fund for the school. Not less encouraging were the voluntary exertions of members of the Faculty in the acquisition of notable collections. Professor John G. R. McElroy, a member of Dr. Pepper's class, had secured the noted philological library of the late Professor F. A. Pott, of the University of Halle, consisting of about four thousand works; Professor Morris Jastrow secured a fine collection of Arabic books, and Professor Francis A. Jackson obtained the Leutsch Library of Classics.

As was his custom on all occasions when accounting results and labor done, Dr. Pepper officially recognized the devoted services and generous contributions which these faithful professors had made.[1]

The University Lecture Association, which Dr. Pepper had inaugurated some years before, proved highly popular and stimulating to the intellectual life of the community, and accomplished the purpose which he had designed,—to bring the University and the community into closer sympathy. During 1888 lectures were delivered, among others, by Dr. John Fiske, on American History; by Herbert Weir Smyth,

[1] In November, 1890, Professor McElroy died, after a brief illness. He became instructor in the University in 1867, five years after his graduation, and held successively the posts of assistant Professor of Rhetoric and History, adjunct Professor of Greek and History, and Professor of Rhetoric of the English Language, which he held at the time of his death. He was a painstaking and industrious teacher, the author of several works in English which have become standard text-books, and commanded the hearty respect and affection of his fellow-professors. Dr. Pepper's Report, October 1, 1892, pp. 2–3.

on Greek Lyric Poetry; and by M. Coquelin, on the French Drama. In 1889 thirteen series were delivered, and among the lecturers were Rev. H. C. Trumbull, on Phases of Oriental Life; Professor Francis Brown, on Recent Archæology and the Religious Idea of the New Testament; Mr. Fiske, on American History; and Horace Howard Furness, LL.D., four lectures on Shakespeare.

University Extension, which had attained such remarkable proportions in Great Britain, interested Dr. Pepper, and he thought of its aims and methods in connection with the work of the University Lecture Association. He saw in the extension system an opportunity for co-operation among academic institutions, an ideal towards which he was ever moving, and he gave notice that in his next report there would doubtless be a record of much vigorous and successful work in this new field.

The acquisition of more land enabled the Board to extend an offer—which Dr. Pepper had long been contemplating—to several institutions in the city to acquire new sites on the University ground and remove there, "in order to insure concentration and co-ordination of energy on the part of the students, teachers, and investigators in kindred branches." The only formal offer was made to the Academy of Natural Sciences. The proposition became public in March, 1889, and promised for a time to be realized. The ancient and conservative institution to which the offer was made viewed it with some alarm. It possessed a costly building, richly stored with collections, and the more conservative members of its Board of Management feared that removal to the University site would mean the ultimate loss of the identity of the Academy. After due deliberation, the Academy decided not to make the change.

"Philadelphia," observed one of the city papers editorially, in discussing the subject,[1] "for a great many years has been suffering, in connection with scientific, artistic, literary, and other matters relating to culture, from a lack of concentration of its energies. There is plenty of culture and plenty of the energy of culture, if the phrase may be permitted, in this town, but the results in behalf of true culture which were achieved here are certainly unimportant in comparison with those achieved elsewhere by no better or more intellectual men and women than ours. Up to within a very recent period the University was run by a little clique of people, who were altogether out of touch with the rest of the community.

"It needs no argument, we think, to prove that if the worthy Academy of Natural Sciences, with its very valuable collections and appliances, were to amalgamate with the University and to obtain for its students the benefits of the University collections and appliances, and were all other organizations of an analogous source to join in with the University, the benefits that would accrue to the cause of true culture would be enormous. Of all the institutions and associations that have been mentioned in this connection, the University is the only one that is pursuing a genuinely prosperous and progressive career. Since the University has been in West Philadelphia quarters, and especially since Dr. Pepper has been the official head of it, it has steadily risen towards a first place among the great educational institutions of the country and of the world. It has done and is doing a very great work, and it is accomplishing that for Philadelphia which entitles it to the cordial regard and support of every Philadelphian who is at all capable of understanding what the word culture stands for."

The Academy, in declining to unite with the University, defeated one of Dr. Pepper's long-cherished plans to co-ordinate the culture force of the city.

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[1] *The Telegraph*, March 23, 1889.

"It is to be hoped," said he, "that a continuance of this liberal and wise policy on the part of the University will make it more and more clearly recognized as the intellectual centre of this great community, around which will naturally group themselves the various scientific and literary institutions, whose work is an essential part of the comprehensive University scheme."[1]

For some time Dr. Pepper had been interested in the promotion of archæological studies, and as his memoranda of his visit to the Secretary of State and his interview with Minister Straus show, he had been devoted to the Babylonian expedition conducted by the University through his own generosity and that of others. He was now planning a broader organization of the work, and had suggested the formation of an Archæological Association, whose officers and council should consist in part of members of the Board of Trustees of the University and in part of members of the Association. The purpose should be "to develop a great museum comprising paleontology, ethnology, and archæology."[2] As there was no special receptacle for the material which these expeditions were already sending to the University, the collections were displayed in part of the new Library Building. "As," said he, "it may be several years before the necessity for a great museum building becomes urgent." This necessity became more pressing and the years proved fewer than he probably at this time anticipated

By a change in the administration at Washington, the University lost the official aid and devotion which Minister Straus had given it. Dr. Pepper felt this loss keenly, and doubtless reciprocated the sentiments of the Secretary of

[1] Provost's Report, 1889, pp. 9–10.

[2] Id., p. 10.

State, Honorable Thomas F. Bayard, who, writing under the date of June 9, observed that it was greatly to be regretted that Mr. Straus was not continued in his place, for which he had exhibited singular aptitude, having achieved a substantial advantage for American interests in Turkey quite unprecedented.[1] The University and its Archæological Association could do no more than file useless exceptions to a practice more honored in the breach than in the observance, but of long standing in America, to change our ministers and consuls with every change of administration, without regard to their fitness and fidelity. The Provost doubtless further agreed with Mr. Bayard's comment on the reason for the change as "a poor and shallow view."

The following letter from Secretary Bayard also indicates his feelings in the matter and the efforts of the University to have Mr. Straus retained:

"Department of State, Washington, February 19, 1889.

"Dear Doctor:

"I reinclose your proposed memorial to President Harrison asking the retension of Mr. Straus in the Turkish Mission.

"It assuredly will be a good thing for the public interest that he should remain; but I cannot hazard an opinion whether that will weigh in the question or no.

"Our main interests in Turkey are scientific and educational, with no possibility of our domestic politics intruding. The form of your memorial is sufficiently indicative; but would not a word from the Pennsylvania Senators be better?

"Sincerely yours,

"T. F. Bayard."[2]

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[1] MS. letter T. F. Bayard to Dr. William Pepper; Wilmington, Delaware, June 9, 1889.

[2] MS.

On the last day of May, 1888, in the early morning, a fire broke out in the fourth story of the Medical Hall and wrought great damage. Dr. Pepper's residence was nearly two miles distant. An eye-witness relates that the fire-engines were not yet in position and fighting the flames before Dr. Pepper was seen at the top of a ladder resting against the ledge of one of the dormer windows out of which thick columns of smoke were rolling. He seemed to have sprung up out of the ground at the moment the alarm was sounded; and he remained, taking charge of matters until the fire was extinguished. It was said at the time that as he was always felt to be constructively present in every activity within the University, no one was surprised to discover him present at so critical a moment. "Although the results were far less serious than we feared," was his reference to the fire in his report five months later, "and both the condition and equipments are far better now than prior to the fire, the accident emphasizes in the strongest manner the importance of having every building in which valuable collections are stored of fire-proof construction."[1] The damage which the Wistar-Horner Museum and the Stillé Medical Library sustained proved ultimately a blessing in disguise.

About this time Mr. Henry C. Lea generously offered to erect a building for a complete School of Hygiene, in accepting which the Trustees and the Medical Faculty deliberately assumed a binding condition, that as soon as the stipulated endowment of $200,000 for this new department should be secured, a movement should be started to raise a further sum of $250,000 to enable the Trustees to add the obligatory fourth year to the medical curriculum. Mr. Lea's

[1] Provost's Report, 1889, p. 11.

offer marked an epoch in the history of the Medical School. In regard to the Department of Hygiene, Dr. Pepper left this interesting memorandum:

"Knowing that Mr. Lea was greatly interested in promoting the study of hygiene, for which purpose he had offered a sum of $10,000 to the University, I learned that Dr. John S. Billings had not accepted the offer of the Trustees of the Johns Hopkins Hospital to be its Superintendent. Within twelve hours I was in his office and secured a written contract with him that he would accept the position of Superintendent of the University Hospital and Director of a Laboratory of Hygiene, at a salary of $6,000, and would transfer his residence to Philadelphia at a proper time; his salary, pending the arrival of that time, to be considerably less, though on an ascending scale. It was necessary to comply with the terms of this contract at once, as Dr. Billings had other offers pending.

"I saw Mr. Lea immediately; and he was induced to offer to build a laboratory at a cost of about $50,000, provided that Dr. Billings would be its Director, and provided that an additional sum of $250,000 was secured for the equipment and endowment of the laboratory, and provided further that hygiene was made an obligatory study in the medical course; and, finally, that as soon as the above-named endowment of the Laboratory of Hygiene was secured, an effort should be started to secure a proper endowment of the Medical School to enable a compulsory four years' course to be adopted. A time limit was stated by Mr. Lea, at the close of which his offer would be withdrawn.

"I made up my mind that I would start the subscription with $10,000, and that I would make application to five men of different types and would be governed by their action as to whether I would make my estate personally responsible for the entire amount, so as to give Dr. Billings a written assurance of his appointment, which would justify him in declining the other offers pending. The

five men I saw within twenty-four hours were the late Henry C. Gibson, who cordially offered $25,000 for the equipment; the late A. J. Drexel, who instantly subscribed $10,000; Richard Wood, who gave me $7,500; Dr. S. Weir Mitchell and Dr. D. Hayes Agnew, each of whom cheerfully subscribed $5,000. This seemed to be conclusive, and I drew a codicil to my will making my estate responsible for the payment of any uncollected balance of the endowment needed, and drew a formal instrument making myself personally responsible, during life, to the Board of Trustees in a similar manner. A formal acceptance of Dr. Billings's terms was then made, and thus this important enterprise was accomplished.

"The task of raising the money was very difficult. I was wholly unaided, and was heavily burdened in other directions. As the limit of time fixed by Mr. Lea approached and there was still $60,000 to be secured, I felt a sense of anxiety that I cannot overstate. It seemed to me that my health must break down under the strain. At this time a near relative died, who had at my earnest solicitation inserted in his will a clause leaving $60,000 to the University for the establishment of a Professorship, and fortunately it was stated that the designation of the Professorship should be left to me. In an instant I had decided to assign it to the Chair of Hygiene, thus completing the amount required by Mr. Lea's offer. There are few things, if any, in my life that I look back upon with more satisfaction than carrying through this difficult and important matter unaided and handicapped."[1]

Meanwhile the Law School had been removed, as he had suggested, to the centre of the city, and located at Broad and Chestnut Streets.[2] Its Dean, Professor C. Stuart Patterson,

[1] MS. n. d.

[2] It occupied the sixth floor of the Girard Life Insurance, Annuity and Trust Company's building.

Esq.,[1] reported it as in a flourishing condition. Not the least interesting incident in its recent history was the delivery of the address inaugurating the term, by Mr. Justice Miller, of the Supreme Court of the United States, in the chapel of the University.[2] Changes in its faculty within two years had quite reorganized the school, and its course had been greatly extended. Again the Provost urged that "the school be housed in a suitable, dignified building of its own;" but this consummation seemed yet a great way off.

From the Dental and Veterinary Departments the returns were also encouraging. The Veterinary Hospital was separated entirely from the Veterinary School in September, 1889;[3] and the hospital and school, a monument to the liberality of a deceased member of the Board of Trustees, J. B. Lippincott, Esq., immediately showed the wisdom of the change.

The activity of the members of the University teaching force[4] was evidenced by the extended bibliography of their publications in art, science, and literature, aggregating about seven hundred separate treatises.[5]

The financial condition of the University showed that the Medical,[6] the Dental,[7] the Veterinary,[8] and the Law Depart-

[1] Professor of Constitutional Law, including the history and interpretation of the Constitution and the relations between the United States and the States and the Law of Real Property and Conveyancing.

[2] October 1, 1888.

[3] September 10. Resolution of the Board of Trustees.

[4] October, 1887, to January, 1890.

[5] Provost's Report, 1889, pp. 120, 164. [6] Balance, $662.05.

[7] The balance in favor of the Dental Department, $3,032.94, was the largest credit of any of the departments in the University.

[8] Balance, $488.43.

ments were self-sustaining; that the Hospital Department, though having an annual deficit, was conducted through the generosity of its Board of Managers without loss to the University;[1] that the Departments of Arts and Sciences were maintained at a profit,[2] and that the Wharton School was maintained at a loss.[3] The deficit of the University was fourteen thousand dollars ($14,404.29), caused chiefly by permanent improvements. The aggregate value of the University property, including its endowments, was a little over three millions ($3,040,821.25), an increase of eight hundred thousand dollars ($798,906.49) since Provost Pepper's first report, October 1, 1883, a period of six years.

The question of the proper site for a University was interesting Dr. Pepper in these days, and he seems in his investigation of the subject to have followed his habit of ascertaining the opinion of those having experience. About this time the Trustees of Columbia College in New York City elected Honorable Seth Low president of that institution. In response to Dr. Pepper's inquiry and also in acknowledgment of his congratulations, President Low sent the following letter:

"BROOKLYN, October 17, 1889.

"I thank you very much for your valued letter of October 10th. I heartily agree with you in the belief that our large cities are the best places for great universities. Columbia College unquestionably has a noble opportunity within her grasp, and it will be my endeavor to do all in my power to enable her to avail herself of it. It encourages me greatly to find that men like yourself see a fitness in the choice which the Trustees have made. It is so great a departure from the usual action in such cases that the wisdom of it may yet remain an open question until experience has thrown some light

[1] $806.36 [2] $1,412.85 [3] $1,059.94.

upon the subject. Meanwhile, the general favor with which it has been received is a great inspiration to me in the work I am about to undertake. I have the honor to remain,

"Yours sincerely,

"SETH LOW."[1]

Soon after submitting his Report in 1887, the rumor spread through the community that he was about to resign from the Provostship. It created consternation among the Faculty, some of whom realized that the efficiency of their departments and even their permanent connection with the University depended upon the financial results of Dr. Pepper's personal activity. It was well understood that the enterprise and vigor of the institution, at least for the present, were personified in him, and there seemed to be no man equal to the task of succeeding him.

The income of the University from its vested funds was inadequate to meet the demands of all its departments, and it was the financial weakness of the institution which caused him to hesitate to leave the Provostship. He knew very well that he had extended the lines of work in many directions to points far distant from the base of supplies, and if the ground occupied was to be retained, that he must remain at the head of the institution. He realized that the time had not yet come for his retirement. That he seriously contemplated this step is indisputable. The financial burden upon him was heavy to bear. Some of his associates in the Board of Trustees, upon whom he depended for assistance, were wearying in well doing, and the labor of supporting and administering the University fell wholly upon him. The world knew little of his burdens, and the mass of the people who

[1] MS.

gave the subject any thought fancied, from external appearances of prosperity, that the University was rich.

It is difficult for most men in practical affairs to understand how a great school may receive large sums of money or grants of land and yet be pinched by poverty. The demands upon a university always tend to outrun its means of subsistence. The expense of equipment is always enormous, and the income from tuition seldom equals the cost of instruction. The University at this time, and indeed throughout Dr. Pepper's Provostship, was in the age of extraordinary expansion, the most expensive age in the history of a great school. The professors and instructors were poorly paid, and many of them were living on the expectation of plenty. Dr. Pepper was in no sense a small man in dealing with the salary question, but the necessities of the University compelled him to get the ablest men possible for the smallest sums. The professor was paid his salary, meagre as it might be, and was never discouraged in the belief that the time was at hand when he might receive an adequate compensation.

This condition of affairs prevailed throughout Dr. Pepper's Provostship, and doubtless also in other universities in the country. But it was peculiarly the situation at Pennsylvania. He knew that there were scores of instructors in the University who had been attracted thither by the opportunities which his intelligence and energy had opened up. For him to leave his post for a moment signified the withdrawal of lines of advance and the retirement of earnest and capable men. In other words, he was responsible for the condition of the University, and he could not resign with justice to his colleagues.

The rumor of his approaching resignation got abroad and quickly precipitated a flood of regrets and expostulations.

These were undoubtedly signs of the attitude of the public towards him. That he was contemplating retirement from the Provostship, that he openly expressed his determination to a few members of the Faculty who possessed his confidence, and that these vigorously expostulated with him against taking the step at this time, are matters of memory. The whole affair was finally set at rest by the publication of a statement which went forth with his authority in one of the city papers. He would not resign until the University, and especially the College Department, had reached the high position which he felt sure it would soon attain.

In November, 1889, occurred an event of unusual interest to the American people,—the assembling of the Pan-American Congress at Washington, an event hastened by the diplomacy of Henry Clay and James G. Blaine. This meeting of representative men from Mexico and Central and South America made an opportunity which Dr. Pepper was very quick to detect and to utilize. He knew that from its inception the Medical School had been patronized generously by the people of that part of the world. He quickly planned to extend the hospitalities of the University to the delegates to the Congress. At this time he did not know that since 1740 just six hundred men from these countries had matriculated and probably graduated from the University.[1] These facts were not worked out until three years later. But he knew that the Medical School and the Jefferson Medical College had been generously patronized by these

[1] A table showing the attendance at the University from 1740 to 1892, inclusive, from the catalogue extant, and from other sources, is given in "Benjamin Franklin and the University of Pennsylvania," p. 202.

Southern countries, and on this fact he based his action. The University became the host of the delegates, and, on the twelfth of November, they were greeted by all the departments in the most hospitable manner. To each delegate was given a neatly printed greeting in the Spanish language,[1] written originally by the Provost and briefly presenting the opportunities which the University offered. The greeting recited the history of the University from the time of Dr. Franklin, enumerated its departments, and called the attention of the delegates to the fact that there were at the time three hundred and nine students attending the University from seven South American countries.[2]

[1] La Universidad de Pennsylvania; Saluda Cordialmenté a los Senores Delegados de la Conferencia Internacional Americanna, Noviembre 12 de 1889.

[2] United States of Colombia, Costa Rica, Mexico, Brazil, Central America, South America, West Indies.

VI

THE UNIVERSITY; RESIGNATION FROM THE PROVOSTSHIP

1890–1894

IN February, 1890, he responded to the toast "The Ideal University" at the banquet of the Alumni of Columbia College, New York. It was in this address that he first gave public utterance to his thought of a National University at Washington. After referring to the close relation between Columbia and the University of Pennsylvania at a critical time in their history in the eighteenth century, he said:

"I do not care to discuss the question whether the ideal University will most readily be developed in a small town, where the University is the town, or in a great city, where the University can be but one of the forces influencing the life of the vast community. No two institutions which are really alive and growing can be alike. Each will respond to special impulses, and will develop a purely individual type and character. The essence of a University is a breadth of view embodied in its organization which makes it keep in touch with all the intellectual needs of the people; an atmosphere of freedom which encourages individuality and original thought; and a richness of equipment in library and museum and laboratory which stimulates research and investigation. The tendency to conservatism in such an institution is inevitable; the danger is of too tenacious adherence to tradition and of blind disregard of the tendencies and needs of each new generation. The more closely in touch it is with a great community—the current of whose life-

blood is thick with seething thoughts and plans—the less likely is conservatism to harden into apathy.

"Such an institution, devoted to the study of all truth, must, of necessity, be religious, but cannot be denominational. However it may be where a state religion dominates education, in this country at least, where free government, free religion, and free education are our priceless heritage, the University, just as the public school, must be kept absolutely aloof from denominationalism of all kinds. When a University is then fortunate enough to be seated in a great community, it should assert itself as a power in the moral and religious life of that community. There is missionary work to be done in every quarter, and there are schemes of conjoint work by the clergy and laymen of all denominations which will find no surer rallying point and no more zealous body of assistants than in the University.

"It is difficult to compute the resources needed for the work of a great University. It is to draw to it the great scholars of the world, to accumulate the treasures of the past and the present, and to illustrate knowledge in all its branches; to provide ample endowment for research and for scientific publications, and to enable worthy students to do advanced work freely or at nominal cost. The annual cost of maintenance must be large, many times larger than the total income of any American University to-day. But if it is seated where it may do not only this, but may also make itself the true centre of a vast community, influencing profoundly its social life, and elevating and quickening its intellectual life, there are needed not only vast material resources, but the widest and most generous co-operation.

"There are vast libraries and museums of art, of archæology, and of science, which need some bond of union to render their treasures more available and useful. There are many learned societies whose valuable collections and important proceedings lose much of their just effect because they are accessible or even known to but a few. The University is the natural centre for all such.

Rapid transit removes the objections; the advantages are too many and obvious to bear mention. The community must be appealed to, be instructed, be interested in the work of the University. There are agencies for the extension of University influence which suggest themselves at once. The University should be the purveyor of the best and most attractive public lectures, and should be the leading patron of art and of music. Associations which owe their dignity and their permanent vitality to their connection with the University will readily spring up, and while imposing no tax upon its resources will carry on this University extension work not only in the community immediately surrounding, but in many outlying centres.

"The constituency of our Universities is not restricted to any class, nor are they conducted for the profit or benefit of any special group of people. It is likely that they are the most unselfish, the most truly charitable, and the most truly democratic of our institutions. So it will result that the ideal University will become more and more a federation of all the forces which work for the advance ment and elevation of society, and its life will become mingled with that of all kindred institutions, and with that of the entire community.

"Every people have their standards and their ideals. We Americans know well the value of material success, but it is not true that our highest standards are commercial ones. The mere possession of wealth must inevitably confer less distinction as its possessors become more numerous. But the wise use of wealth, the gifts of genius and the acquirements of learning, the fine qualities of personal character and of public-spirited citizenship, these challenge our highest admiration, as they have that of all vigorous and progressive nations. And it is precisely these excellences that the influence of a University fosters and develops. The time has passed when the most interesting questions about University work are whether Greek or German is the more useful study. For now it may fairly be claimed—and I say this more

emphatically because I quote the evidence of one whose authority will not be doubted—that 'we require of our Universities that they shall equip and thoroughly train American citizens.' We are trying in this country an experiment in civilization of grand proportions and commensurate risk. Even if the tide of immigration has begun to ebb, there are elements in the problem before us well calculated to arouse anxiety. We are trying the incomparable experiment of trusting to the power of education, religious and secular, to enable sixty millions of people to govern themselves.

"The man on horseback is less than a spectre here, and the immense part which the army and navy play in the national life of other countries is barely recognized with us. The absence of the throne and the aristocracy omits conservative elements which must be replaced, and which can hardly be said to be replaced by our political forces. When the separate sects of Protestantism shall federate, if not unite, in support, at least, of organized charity and universal free education, we shall have a constructive power of irresistible magnitude. But, for the moment, it may be safely claimed that the development of our university system towards an ideal extension is second in importance to none of the practical questions of our national life."

All this he said by way of prelude to his remarks on a National University with which he closed his speech:

"The more colleges and universities we have the better. There is work for them all, and there is money enough to endow them all richly. Let each strive hard for the attainment of the loftiest ideal it can set up. Different as their development must be, they will all at heart be one, and will all be loyal to the common cause. But I confess that the splendid system of American colleges and universities will seem to me incomplete until we have at Washington a great university, free from political as well as from denominational influence, and representing, if not actually administered, by the leading institutions of the land. Just as the ideal individual university

may be viewed as an aggregation of many colleges and a federation of all kindred institutions accessible, so I hope to see, as the ideal university, an university of universities formed as the central government is formed, by the federation of many independent institutions, planted strongly at the capital of the nation, using the unequalled collections which are growing there for the prosecution of the highest studies under the most eminent masters, and proclaiming to the world that, among the ideals which we Americans hold by is that of education, thorough, pure, and free, from the cross-roads district school to the groves and halls of the loftiest university." [1]

This address and that on "The University in Modern Life" were reprinted together. The criticism which they excited is well expressed in the following letter to him from the Dean of the Law School:

"PHILADELPHIA, May 2, 1890.

"MY DEAR PROVOST:

"I have read with great pleasure, and with that pride which a University man ought to feel as to brilliant work done by his chief, your speeches upon 'The University in Modern Life' and 'The Ideal University.' You have made possible to our Alma Mater the realization of your high ideal.

"Faithfully yours,

"C. STUART PATTERSON." [2]

In July, 1892, he delivered an address before the National Educational Association, at Saratoga, on "The Relation of

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[1] Remarks at the banquet of the Alumni of Columbia College, New York, February 3, 1890, in response to the toast, "The Ideal University," by William Pepper, M.D., LL.D., 1890.

[2] MS.

Undergraduate to Post-graduate Curricula."[1] It is doubtless the most important contribution he made to educational literature, with the exception of that of 1877 on medical education. It abounds in historical information, and at the time of its delivery was thought to take very advanced ground. His manuscript notes show that, as was usual with him, he had gathered his data with painstaking care. He made a thorough study of the subject in the English, Scotch, French, and German schools, and his wide acquaintance among the British educators enabled him to acquire his information at first hand.

The Saratoga address expressed Dr. Pepper's conviction of the true method of grouping university studies so as to avoid free electives at one extreme and the faults of the old four years' course, with its inflexibility, at the other. The position he took at Saratoga he maintained at the University, and there carried out in practice what in his address he elaborated in theory. Running through all his reports as Provost is a constant defense of the group system of studies. He did not believe that a young man, inexperienced, as are all who come up to the University, was capable of making a wise selection among free electives. The risk was too great. Most freshmen would choose the line of least resistence, and if possible omit all studies which compelled serious work. A University course must be made a happy medium between extremes, and be adapted to the youth of moderate capacity

[1] The Relation of Undergraduate to Post-graduate Curricula. An address read before the National Educational Association at Saratoga, July 12, 1892, by William Pepper, M.D., LL.D., University of Pennsylvania. Philadelphia: Allen, Lane & Scott, 1892. 24 pp.

who had neither the courage to select a well-grouped body of studies nor the ability to win honor in the most difficult subjects. The modern tendency to make university life as easy as possible endangers the stability of sound scholarship, and it was against this catastrophe that Dr. Pepper was constantly contending. He believed that a University faculty was a better judge of the studies that a freshman should undertake than was the freshman himself. Therefore he favored the group system, by which the student would have a reasonable range of choice and yet be under obligation to pursue a group of studies more or less co-ordinated and necessitating a reasonable amount of exacting study. The student was thus saved from his own folly and ignorance. The system of group electives at the University would enable him to escape four years of intellectual laziness.

Nor was Dr. Pepper persuaded even by the free elective system elsewhere that it should prevail in the post-graduate work. There should be, he thought, a reasonable supervision exercised by the Faculty, and the principle followed in undergraduate work should prevail. His reports as Provost show the workings of the group elective system at the University. His Saratoga address was an examination in detail of the theory underlying this system, and is undoubtedly as able a defense of it as we have in our educational literature.

The address called forth opinions from educational journals and from teachers in schools and colleges throughout the country. The following letter from J. Havens Richard, S.J., President of Georgetown College, has embodied sentiments held by many educators:

"GEORGETOWN COLLEGE,
"WEST WASHINGTON, D. C.,
"October 7, 1892.

"Please accept my cordial thanks for your most interesting address on the Relation of Undergraduate to Post-graduate Curricula. It is a subject demanding close attention at the present time, and I rejoice to see men in your position and ability beginning to discuss it.

"It is a subject of surprise and self-gratulation to me to discover that your opinions and conclusions agree in the main with my own convictions, which I had thought hopelessly out of accord with modern educational systems. Your address and that of Professor Goodwin of Harvard are omens of good. The latter has been already read in our dining-room to the Faculty, and I shall have the same done with your pamphlet.

"Repeating the expression of my thanks, I remain,
"Very sincerely yours,
"J. HAVENS RICHARD, S.J.,
"*President.*

"P. S.—May I ask you, if you have not already done so, to send copies of the address to the deans of our Medical and Law Departments? They are Dr. George L. Magruder, and M. F. Morris, LL.D."[1]

About this time the University lost by death the services of several of its distinguished men, among them Joseph Leidy, Dr. Pepper's tribute to whom has already been given; D. Hayes Agnew, "of illustrious fame in the profession of surgery;" John J. Reese, Emeritus Professor of Medical Jurisprudence and Toxicology; Algernon Sydney Biddle, Professor of Torts, Evidence, and Practice of Law; Dr. Formad, the distinguished pathologist; Professor McElroy, a classmate of Dr. Pepper's and for twenty-five years

[1] MS.

identified with the University;[1] and Mr. Edmund A. Stewardson, to whose professional enthusiasm the rapid development of the School of Architecture was largely due.

The wisdom of the Trustees in securing additional land—ten acres—in 1889 had been more than vindicated by the expansion of the University since and the daily need of more territory for the site of University buildings. Upon a portion of the new ground the Institute of Hygiene had been erected, another portion had been assigned to the Athletic Association, and the triangular lot at the intersection of Woodland Avenue and Thirty-sixth Street had been conveyed, with the consent of the city,[2] to the Wistar Institute of Anatomy and Biology, upon which the fine building of the Institute was in process of erection.

In 1890 Dr. Pepper had ventured the opinion to the Trustees that the upper rooms of the new Library Building would doubtless furnish ample space for years to come for the reception of collections in the then newly-formed Department of Archæology, but, as he now said, events had proved that he had greatly underrated the vigor of the new department and the hearty interest which the public would take in its work. Not only had every room in the Library Building been filled to overflowing with the collections, which represented many hundreds of thousands of dollars in value, but every possible space upon the stairway and under it had been used for the display of parts of the collections. "Far sooner than was expected," said he, "the urgent demand comes upon us for a building having all the fire-proof security of the Library and

[1] See p. 272. Note.

[2] Ordinance of March 19, 1892. See Provost's Report from October, 1892, to June, 1894, p. 62.

especially adapted to the exhibition of these priceless and rapidly-growing collections."

The next great building contemplated after the Library, it will be remembered, was the Institute of Hygiene, the construction of which was carried on under the immediate personal supervision of the donor, Mr. Henry C. Lea, in constant association with Dr. John S. Billings. The result was a structure which in itself remains an object lesson in hygiene, a model of perfect adaptation to its scientific purposes. On the twenty-second of February, 1892, the Institute of Hygiene was formally opened.[1] The transfer to the University of the gift of Mr. Lea being made for him by Dr. S. Weir Mitchell, who, in the course of his address, read a brief letter from Mr. Lea in response to his request "for a few words on the subject and the motive which led to the founding of the new Laboratory of Hygiene." This letter is well worthy of preservation:

"MY DEAR DR. MITCHELL:

"It gives me pleasure to respond to your request for a few words on the object and motives which led to the founding of the new Laboratory of Hygiene.

"Of all the claims of your noble profession on the gratitude of mankind, perhaps the chiefest is due to the zeal of its members in laboring as earnestly for the prevention as for the cure of disease. Scientific hygiene is essentially the creation of physicians, who have ever been foremost in discovering and promulgating the facts and principles on which improvment of public health must be based. Great as have been the strides of this science during the last

[1] The Opening Exercises of the Institute of Hygiene of the University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, February 22, 1892. Philadelphia, 1892. 66 pp.

generation, even more is reasonably to be expected of it in the future. It is not visionary to say that we are on the threshold of discoveries which promise, if rightly used, to relieve humanity from some of the distressing evils which have weighed it down in the past. To this most desirable consummation the University of Pennsylvania makes a notable contribution in rendering the study of hygiene compulsory on all who seek its degrees in Medicine, Architecture, and Civil Engineering, and in organizing a Department of Hygiene, where scientific investigations and instruction can be considered under the most favorable conditions.

"Important as will be the functions of this department in stimulating original research, perhaps even more immediately important to the community will be its educational activity in annually sending forth numbers of thoroughly trained and well-equipped hygienists. Through their agency we may expect that popular errors will be largely dispelled and popular indifference to the laws of health will be removed. The mass of human misery directly traceable to these errors and this indifference can scarce be overestimated. Of this our own city offers a pregnant example. No great centre of population is anywhere more happily situated than Philadelphia with respect to hygienic advantages. It has every requisite for healthful prolonged life in its soil, climate, facilities for drainage, abundance of pure water within reach, ample space over which to spread without overcrowding. If proper respect were paid to hygienic rules, preventable disease would be virtually unknown among us, and our annual death-rate would not exceed fifteen to the thousand. Yet during the past year the interments amounted to 22,649, which, in a population of eleven hundred thousand souls is over 20½ per thousand. Now this difference of 5½ per thousand means about 6000 deaths per annum from purely preventable causes—6000 human beings snatched away before their time, and other thousands reduced to want by the loss of those on whom they were dependent. Yet, ghastly as is this aggregate, it is in reality the smallest portion of the evil. Experience

shows that every death represents about twenty cases of sickness not immediately fatal, so that 6000 preventable deaths per annum infer 120,000 cases of preventable sickness. Each case of sickness will average from thirty-five to forty days, so that every year in Philadelphia there are 12,000 years of preventable sickness endured by its inhabitants.

"Think what an aggregate of suffering this represents—think of the thousands of families who are annually exposed to privation through the disability incurred by the bread-winner or by the mother—think how many of those who are hovering on the border between comfort and poverty are permanently plunged into pauperism through temporary sickness—and you will agree with me that the Department of Hygiene, if rightly administered and efficiently supported by the public, will not be merely a valuable scientific adjunct to the University, but will be the most practical and the most useful institution of public beneficence that the community can have, for it will deal in the largest way with the causes of these vast evils. If it is blessed to relieve human miseries, it is still more blessed to prevent them.

"Faithfully yours,

"HENRY CHARLES LEA."

In accepting the building on behalf of the University, Dr. Pepper, after paying tribute to the generosity of Mr. Lea and of Mr. Henry C. Gibson, who had contributed to the endowment of the Institution, said:

"Never has the circle of our University departments opened to receive a more welcome addition. To detect error, to discover and diffuse truth, has long been our labor here. Here first in the country was taught the august science of the law. Here, also, first was taught the healing art, and for well nigh one hundred and fifty years the history of medical science in America has been, in large part, that of our Medical School; and now, in the fulness of time, which has brought the recognition of the larger truth that prevention, and

not cure alone, must be our aim, is added the first Institution devoted to the study of the causes of disease and of the laws for maintaining health.

"An observant and critical public will note the advantages which have resulted from the establishment of this Institute in connection with a great University.

"While its individuality is perpetuated so far as desired by the founders, it is brought into organic relation with cognate departments, to which it will contribute most valuable assistance, and from which, in turn, it will receive important co-operation. The vast services this Institute will render to science and society can be but feebly outlined at present. They will be gratefully recognized in the future."

An important and unique structure erected in 1892 was the Canine Infirmary in connection with the Veterinary Hospital; and in the same year was built the Central Heat and Light Station, by means of which all the University buildings, though widely separated over the extensive campus, were for the first time properly lighted and heated. An announcement was made that the plans were in preparation for the construction of a Chemical Laboratory for the College Department. A new Engineering Laboratory had been erected contiguous to the Central Station, by which additional facilities were added to the work of the Towne Scientific School. The erection of the Engineering Laboratory made possible the removal of the Mechanical Engineering Department from the College Hall, and thus afforded rooms for the use of other departments long greatly in need of them. The erection of the Chemical Laboratory would permit the removal of the Chemical Department from the College Hall and relieve the congestion which had for several years interfered with the work of other departments.

In the College the most important changes which the Provost now reported were the adoption of the four years' technical course in architecture, in mechanical and electrical engineering, and in chemistry, not as superceding, but as an alternative to the former five years' course embracing these subjects, which was still retained. The School of Architecture, founded in 1891, had won the warm support of members of the architectural profession, and was attended by a greater number of students with each successive term. Owing to the accession of students, the quarters assigned to the Department of Chemistry became entirely inadequate, whence the demand for a new Chemical Laboratory. The School of Biology had participated in the general prosperity, and through the co-operation of Mr. Charles K. Landis had erected a Marine Laboratory at Sea Isle City, New Jersey. Here for two summers classes had been taught, private investigations pursued, and interesting collections made under the supervision of the Biological Faculty. The Laboratory and Summer School were in charge of Dr. Milton J. Greeman. This enterprise was, however, destined to be short-lived. The place selected for the School proved unsuitable, and the whole project was finally abandoned.

Dr. Pepper raised the question whether the Wharton School of Finance and Economy, which had of late attracted an increasing number of young men to its course, should not be made a four years' course. In 1890 eminent members of its Faculty had established the American Academy of Social Science, a chartered organization which, by its extended membership, its interesting scientific sessions, and its publications, had become a recognized force in its own domain.

Beginning with January, 1892, the daily chapel services were entrusted to four chaplains selected from prominent

clergymen of different denominations, each of whom served for one week at a time daily throughout the college year. In addition to the customary services, reading a selection from the Bible and a prayer, the Chaplain delivered a brief address on some timely topic, the entire service lasting only fifteen minutes.[1]

In calling attention to the most urgent need of the College Department, that of adequate financial support, the Provost analyzed the situation in a manner that must appeal to college authorities and to those who are familiar with the difficulties of college administration.

"There are in every college," said he, "pay students and free students, but the difference between them is merely in degree. No man can exhibit receipted tuition bills and say that 'I have paid for my son's education.' He has contributed to the expense of that education all that was asked of him, but the education has cost in actual outlay from thirty to fifty per cent. more than the total of his bills. The remainder was paid from the income of gifts and legacies by men and women long dead, to whom this higher education was something of sacred importance, and by a steady stream of gifts from the comparatively few of the living who feel that in the maintenance of institutions like ours they can best promote the highest welfare of their fellow-men. Without such resources as these not a college in the land could be maintained; the tuition fees cannot be raised to a sustaining point without debarring from higher education a large proportion of the free men for whose education the college deserves to exist. Without such resources free tuition to those from some of whom will come the highest honor to col-

[1] The first Chaplains thus appointed were the Rev. Dr. George Dana Boardman, the Rev. Dean Bartlett, the Rev. Charles Wood, the Rev. Dr. J. A. N. Chapman, the Rev. Leverett Bradley, the Rev. Dr. J. E. Lippincott, and the Rev. John T. Buckley.

leges that have educated them would be impossible. The need of such resources becomes yearly more urgent. We are painfully conscious that the average salaries now paid to professors and instructors are altogether unworthy of the talents, the zeal. the loyalty, and the labors that are demanded of one who is at all worthy of such a position. The material equipment needed for our advanced modern education represents a very large capital, a large annual expenditure to keep them abreast with the times. Meanwhile, with the increase of population and under the stimulus of a more widely diffused secondary and primary educational system, an ever increasing number of young men are thronging to our doors. Among them are some of rare promise, to whom even our mild tuition charge is prohibitory. We have already strained our resources, and to the utmost, in the liberal grant of scholarships to deserving students; to continue them in such number as in the last few years is absolutely impossible on existing means. Our one supreme and urgent need is that of money. We need first an endowment fund worthy of the work which is committed to our hands."

There is probably not a college president in America who could not truly make these words his own.

Therefore, Dr. Pepper appealed again for the foundation of scholarships and fellowships, and he pointed to the growing Department of Philosophy, which in two years had increased in the number of its matriculates from fifty-three to one hundred and seventeen, showing, he said, that the unusual facilities which the University was able to offer in special lines of study were fully appreciated by that increasing number of men and women who were finding post-graduate studies essential to them for their full equipment for their life work. Of this matriculation women already formed a larger number; and on the 4th of May, 1892, the

Graduate Department for women was formally opened. The building for the use of the department was given by Colonel J. R. Bennett.

The establishment of a Graduate School for Women in the University marked a departure in its policy. For some years there had been a small attendance of women upon some of the courses, notably those in Biology, History, and Political Economy, and in the classes known as the "Teachers' Classes," which were attended on Saturdays; but women were not admitted to undergraduate studies as candidates for a degree. They were suffered to enter the lower classes and make the best of their opportunities. The matter was one of condescension on the part of the University, and something of aggressive, patient perseverance on the part of the women students.

Towards the question of the education of women in the University Dr. Pepper's opinions had undergone a radical change since his accession to the Provostship. In his inaugural, February 22, 1881, he had said:

"It seems impossible for any school which intends at the present time to exert its full influence in the intellectual life of the community to neglect the subject of the higher education of women. I do not refer to any such question as that of opening the University classes to young women, because I regard it as settled beyond dispute that the co-education of the sexes is inadmissible. The University has recently been making cautious advances in this direction, and persons of both sexes are now admitted to certain lectures and laboratory work. It may be that this comprises as much as is safe or desirable to be done in this particular direction; and as the special function of the University is not the education of women, it seems proper that further action should await the expression of some carefully-matured wishes or plans on the part

of those who may be assumed to represent the interests of women in this matter. It is evident, however, that some more definite provision is needed than now exists to carry the education of women beyond the point generally attainable at present. The difficulty has been in part met by the establishment of special colleges, such as Vassar, Wellesley, Smith, or Taylor,[1] and recently by the system of private college instructions for women in Cambridge, but other arrangements than these are required to provide the necessary facilities for the large number of women who desire thorough and advanced education.

"This University will gladly witness and co-operate with all earnest efforts to secure such facilities. It recognizes the urgent need of Philadelphia, and of every other great city, in this direction. It realizes strongly the good that would follow from a more general diffusion of higher culture and increased activity in intellectual pursuits among our women, and the powerful influence which would be reflected upon its own future prosperity. There should be accessible, not only to those who desire to become teachers or to those who are able or willing to take up their residence at a special college, but to all women who exhibit the proper qualifications, a course of education in many respects the same as the usual University curriculum, in certain particulars different, but of equal excellence and thoroughness. Proficiency should be tested by rigid examinations, and satisfactory attainments should receive suitable certificates. The demand for such facilities is great, and is constantly becoming more generally recognized. The particular arrangements for securing this object may vary in different places. If true to her traditions, Philadelphia will certainly assume a leading position in the movement; and while this University cannot take the initiative, it will watch with the deepest interest and be

[1] It was decided later that this institution (founded by Joseph W. Taylor, M.D., of Burlington, N. J., who bequeathed $900,000 for the purpose) should be known as Bryn Mawr College.

ready to assist as far as possible all well-considered efforts towards this end."

This attitude towards the question of the education of women fairly reflects the commonplace opinion of the time. Dr. Pepper did not start out, when he was elected Provost, as a reformer in education. His notions were conservative on all subjects. While he might not be

"The first by whom the new is tried,"

he was seldom

"The last to cast the old aside."

His utterances on the education of women in his inaugural meant no more than that the University was not prepared to undertake their higher education. If any one felt disposed to endow a woman's department, the money would be carefully expended and the fund administered as well as circumstances permitted. But in 1881 he had no enthusiasm whatever for the subject. His position excused him. The University was in sad need of reorganization, and his energies were needed in other directions than that of providing for the education of women.

During the following fifteen years he developed in all directions, and his strenuous efforts to co-ordinate the educational forces of Pennsylvania brought him in contact with intellectual men and women from whom he learned many things. There is no doubt that his success as an educator was largely due to the help he received from women. He possessed great influence with them, and he utilized it fully. No small portion of the vast sum of money and valuable lands, aggregating in value upward of six millions of dollars, which he obtained for the University and the system of

museums which he was instrumental in establishing were secured through the immediate assistance of women. No man can take so practical a course of instruction as the one he took without attaining liberal views of life. The result in his case was the acceptance and advocacy of more liberal ideas respecting the education of women.

His first important public utterance on the subject was in his address to the graduating class at Ogontz on "The Higher Education of Women," in June, 1888.[1] He recognized in American life the dominating force of the theory that all are born equal, that ours is a government of the people, and that in the course of a few centuries the population of our country will reach hundreds of millions. He foresaw both the political and the industrial problems which were bound up with the ruling theory of our institutions. In these he realized that woman had her part to play, and his keen analysis of human nature and his unique capacity for deducting principles from scattered and apparently irrelevant data drew him irresistibly to his conclusions.

In his own time one of the most conservative of professions, that of medicine, had admitted women, and he was not prepared to say that the admission had not been a wise one. In the Ogontz address he said:

"To-day there are in every community of any size, in America, women pursuing with gratifying success and distinction this most arduous of professions. So it has been with one form of occupation after another. But still we continue to hear from many quarters and from high authorities that the physical and nervous peculiarities of women unfit them for higher education. Now, this seems to me to be one of the most important questions that

[1] See pp. 261–266.

can be raised. If they are inherent and insuperable, then it is most desirable that a general agreement should be reached as to the degree and character of education which should be provided for our girls."

He remembered how the medical men of Philadelphia had met in solemn conclave not many years before and resolved that neither in the interests of society nor of science nor of the women themselves was it desirable that there should be female physicians. But this seemingly authoritative utterance did not settle the business: public opinion promptly recognized the decision as right so far as it concerned co-education in medicine, but with equal promptness declared that the demand for female physicians was legitimate; and admirable facilities were soon provided for the separate medical education of women. Like Lincoln, Dr. Pepper was responsive to public opinion, and he could not forget that the opinion of the Philadelphia savants had been reversed in the higher court. Unquestionably the approval by the public of the medical education of women changed all his notions of the education of women in general.

"If girls did not possess a physical development sufficiently vigorous for prolonged studies, then," said he, "it seems evident that the duty of the hour was to insist upon the establishment of these conditions and upon the continuance of the process until a solution would be reached. For my own part, after extended observation and study of the method and results of the education of girls in this country, I have no hesitation in asserting that the data do not exist."

During the four years following the time of the Ogontz address the number of women attending the courses at the

University rapidly increased, and the demand became stronger for their admission into regular work as candidates for degrees. Dr. Pepper fully realized the meaning and force of this demand, and omitted no opportunity to bring it to the attention of friends of the University. The establishment of the Graduate Department for Women by Colonel J. R. Bennett, in 1892, was the answer to this demand. From the time of this liberal foundation until his death Dr. Pepper frequently expressed himself in no uncertain language on the higher education of women and the recognition of women's work in society. From the time of this foundation the University began to grant to women the degrees of Master of Art and Doctor of Philosophy *in cursu*.

In the bestowal of honorary degrees it showed a less liberal spirit. It was not until the Commencement of 1894, the last over which Dr. Pepper presided, that the University conferred an honorary degree upon a woman. On that occasion Mrs. Cornelius Stevenson was given the degree of Doctor of Science in recognition of her public service in the field of archæology, but the degree was not given without hesitation. It was Dr. Pepper's desire that Mrs. Stevenson should receive the degree of Doctor of Laws, but the Trustees, unwilling to make this innovation, decided upon the Doctorate of Science instead. The final decision was a compromise, as there was serious objection to the bestowal of an honorary degree upon any woman. Happily the Board decided not only to ignore traditions and to recognize the learning of Mrs. Stevenson, but to establish a precedent by which the literary and scientific claims of women might be recognized by the University in all time to come.

In August following the Commencement of 1894 Dr. Pepper again clearly expressed his views on the woman

question. Mrs. Stevenson had been called upon to write on the subject and had asked Dr. Pepper for his opinion.

"All you say and ask as to woman's position interests me profoundly. I will try to tell you my thought, but I do not trust myself. I am going through a series of changes in attitude on so many questions. Ten years ago I was sceptical as to the large share to be played by women in the public and official life of a dominant nation; now I grow more and more convinced of her necessity. As to the individual question I have never doubted that the highest, most productive and original, most comprehensive life work can never be had save when man and woman, a man and a woman in perfect touch and trust, loyalty and equality, lay hand, heart, and brain to stand together, to sustain, to incite, and to guide each other. I want you to stand strong and to speak clear and loud for the strongest position in this. It is the policy of the future. And it is here as in so many points that women must lead. Now they seem to me even more obstructive than men; more suspicious of their own sex; more willing to join in every movement to hound down any one on the least occasion. But this is only a small part of your great subject. Thank God, the march of legislative emancipation goes on steadily, and we shall see, even you and I, progress made in this supreme question."

It is hard to realize that the man who wrote this letter was the same who delivered the inaugural of 1881. We are prone to forget that a truly great man is great because he changes, develops, and ripens. Truth at last comes to its own. The greatness of Dr. Pepper lay in his capacity and willingness to learn. His colleagues, or at least most of them, thought of him only as an aggressive man of extraordinary powers, one who conferred with them on important matters and then formed a program apparently from the results of the conference. Some of them did not con-

sider him original, and therefore they claimed title to much of his work. The more silent few, who were intimate with him, knew with what an intellectual force they were dealing. It was a force that knew nothing of jealousy, envy, or rage. It was a force as calm as sunshine. In him the elaborative faculty was developed to perfection,—a faculty so much needed upon which to build a policy. Emerson remarks, that it is the man who knows, however obscure, that holds the attention of the crowd.

Dr. Pepper never ignored the man who knows,—however humble his station or fragmentary his knowledge, he was given a hearing. Those who remember Dr. Pepper will recall how frequently he asked them, "What do you know about this? What are the facts in brief?" He was the embodiment of the spirit of learning: whence the profound changes in his character and knowledge, to which he refers in the letter above. He developed rapidly; far more rapidly than the men about him, though never did his knowledge isolate him. The radical change which he underwent respecting the place of woman in society is a fine illustration of the process of evolution through which he was passing throughout life. He was an observer and a learner to the end, and he bravely clung to convictions once pressed upon him. Men differing from him in degree rather than in kind are found in all the conspicuous walks of life. They are the captains of industry, the leaders in the state, the pioneers in thought.

The guarantee fund for the establishment of the fourth year in the Medical School, he announced in 1892, had been secured, and he might have added, almost wholly by his own efforts. Beginning with the fall of that year candidates for the degree of Doctor of Medicine at the University

were required to pursue the extended course. The requirement did not apply to those already matriculated. The next expansion, he intimated, would be in the way of enlarged buildings, increased equipments, and a larger staff of instructors.

As on one side the Institute of Hygiene offered increased facilities to the Medical Department, so on another the newly established Institute of Anatomy promised to enrich it in the line of comparative anatomy in its widest sense, and to offer opportunities for the most advanced post-graduate and investigative work. This new department originated with General Isaac A. Wistar, who at this time proposed to erect a fire-proof building in which to place securely the historic "Wistar Museum," and in which there should be space and facilities for a vastly greater work in anatomy and its kindred sciences than the Medical Hall could supply. The building known as the Wistar Institute of Anatomy was now nearing completion.

It will be remembered that the course in the Dental Department had been extended to three years, and when the change was made it was feared that the school might for a time labor under adverse circumstances owing to a decrease in its number of students. But this fear was not realized.

"The extension of the course made many wants imperative, and of these the most urgent," said Dr. Pepper, "was that of a building devoted to the special work of the school and filled with all the appliances needed for the teaching of art, which has made very great development in the last decade, and which now demands the highest professional and technical training in its practitioners; and the public has not fully realized the relation of modern dentistry to health and even the prolongation of life."

The Faculty of the school, he said, had reached a point in its development beyond which they could not go without assistance. To stand still meant to fall below other leading dental schools. He was confident that if proper facilities were provided "there need be no fear that the department would not creditably maintain itself from its current receipts."

From the Veterinary School and Hospital came one equally gratifying account of increase both in the number of students and in the public interest. The School and Hospital represented a profession which had yet to make its way to full appreciation on the part of the public. Thorough training of veterinary practitioners would be impossible without the clinical advantages of an extensive hospital. The Veterinary Hospital had already become a great charity, and during the year closing had treated more than fifteen hundred dumb animals without charge to their owners. As the maintenance of this educational and charitable work was impossible without generous assistance, he again made public recognition of the support which the late Mr. J. B. Lippincott had given, and which the family had continued. In 1889 the Legislature of Pennsylvania made an appropriation for the school, of which only one-half was available through lack of public funds. The city had received a full return for this appropriation in the scholarships which the Board of Trustees had placed at its disposal. At this time (1892) the Legislature was considering the means for making the remaining half of the appropriation available.

The report from the Law Department was gratifying. Its enrolled students had greatly increased in numbers, and it was enjoying a high degree of prosperity, as was evidenced by the character and attainments of its classes. In memory of the late Algernon Sydney Biddle his family had estab-

lished a Fellowship and set a valuable prize for the stimulation of earnest work in the school. Dr. Pepper equally foresaw the growth of this department and its imperative need of larger accommodation in the near future. With characteristic sagacity he observed: "It might be a wise economy to secure a suitable site before the demands become imperative and in advance of almost certain increase in the cost of property with each succeeding year." At this time it was generally thought that the Law School should be permanently located on some down-town site, preferably not far from the Girard Trust Building, in which it then housed.

As yet the University possessed no suitable gymnasium. That there should be one, he thought, was indisputable; but the question was open to discussion whether it should be a distinct building or be a part of a students' hall. At this time there was no building on the University premises or near them which could be utilized by the students freely for social purposes.

"The fact that among our two thousand students there is a large proportion from abroad," said he, "whose domestic life for three or four years is limited to the meagre accommodations of necessarily low-priced boarding-houses, with the cruel exposure, the various temptations which this involves. The need of harmonizing, refining, and of moral not less than of religious influences during this critical period of their lives, all plead for such a home centre in the University life as is represented in many colleges by handsome, well-equipped Young Men's Christian Association halls. The acceptance of some general plan for a social building did not necessarily involve either the name or the limitations of that association. In fact, it would seem wiser and more consonant with the traditions of the University to avoid both, and to aim at the construction and equipment of a building which would afford rooms

for all religious organizations among the students,—in fact, that would tend to make up for the absence of a refined home and to allure from haunts of vice and dissipation."

The students of the University had already begun a subscription for such a building, and had received large acquisitions from the friends of the enterprise outside.

"We confidently hope," concluded he, "that the next report will announce the completion and use of a building which will represent in the fullest manner the University's idea of what the life of her sons should be."

Closely connected with this subject was one still unsettled at the time,—that of dormitories. A general plan of a building had been made, but for certain reasons the matter had progressed no further.

"The demand," he said, "for such an accommodation for our students is steadily growing, and more and more is endorsed by members of the Faculties and others who are most intimately in contact with them and best acquainted with their needs. Much that I have said in regard to a students' hall applies also to a dormitory. But in addition is the serious argument as to the danger to health to which our students are too often exposed in places which they are forced to inhabit. There is no more healthful situation than that occupied by the University and the properties adjacent to it. But, unfortunately, many of the residences in its neighborhood, having been built by speculators about the time of the Centennial, upon ground not properly prepared and in the cheapest possible manner, the original defects of construction have become more serious by the lapse of time, and are a constant menace to the health of the occupants. From a medical standpoint I cannot overrate the importance of strict hygienic conditions in the apartments in which the hours of study and of sleep are

passed, and I cannot feel that our students are cared for as they should be until there are within their reach apartments which we know to be wholesome in construction and surroundings, and which can be kept so by a vigilant supervision on the part of our own authorities."

The University Lecture Association—which, it will be remembered, he originated—was now no longer an experiment, but year by year pursued its interesting work and offered to the public and to the University a course of the highest educational value by the best lecturers obtainable at home or abroad. Among these were some whose presence on the platform could not be secured by any pecuniary inducement, but whose love for the University and regard for the earnest men and women who in this way were securing its advancement induced them to give to its students and to the community the choicest fruits of their ripe and cultured learning.

Of the Archæological Association and the Department of Archæology and Paleontology he said at this time substantially what is now well known of its prosperity, its notable collections, and the almost incredible public interest which it had awakened.[1] So great had been the increase in its collections, he announced, that unless speedy relief was given by the erection of a museum building there would be no space for them except in boxes in the basement of the Library.

"You have agreed," said he, "to provide a site for the museum. It remans for those who can appreciate the educational value of the actual and tangible monuments of archæology and ethnology,

[1] For his connection with this Department and its history, see Part III., Chapter IV.

grouped in great collections and cared for by zealous curators, to find the means for the erection of such a building as may safely and worthily enshrine them."

The Columbian Exposition invited American educational institutions to exhibit their work. This, at best, was a difficult undertaking, for, as Dr. Pepper said, much of the work of a university is incapable of visible representation. But Pennsylvania was exceptionally well-prepared to make a notable exhibit. Out of the treasures of its museum in the Department of Archæology and Paleontology it was not difficult to select collections which were not mere possessions, but were the actual results of enterprises and expeditions which the University had undertaken and carried to a successful end. These, it was believed, would form an attractive exhibit. The invitation of the Columbian Exposition was accepted and the University exhibit was displayed to distinct advantage.[1] This display proved to be the nucleus of notable accessions and was in every way commendable.

The bibliography of the Faculty of the University for the three years ending October 1, 1892, consisting of forty-eight closely-printed pages, was proof alike of the loyalty and labors of the two hundred and fifty-five professors, lecturers, and instructors who at this time constituted its teaching body.

The inauguration of the four years' medical course at the University, October 2, 1893, was made notable by an address by Dr. Pepper on the same subject which he had

[1] It was in charge of Mr. E. W. Mumford, Assistant Secretary of the Board of Trustees, and its expense was defrayed by special funds raised by Provost Pepper. See Mr. Mumford's report, Appendix V., in Provost's Report for June, 1894.

taken sixteen years before on a similar epoch-making occasion: "Higher Medical Education the True Interest of the Public and of the Profession."[1] The address constitutes a chapter in the history of American medicine. In 1877 he had urged important reforms, of which the chief were a preparatory examination for entrance upon medical studies; the lengthening of the annual term; the grading of the course; clinical and laboratory instruction for the student; and the establishment of fixed salaries for the professors in place of the old system of fees. Since 1877 these reforms had been introduced at the University. The extension of the course to four years and all that it implied was essentially no more than working them out. No physician in the country had done more to secure them than had Dr. Pepper. His inaugural in 1893, therefore, could well be made historical and record the work which had been done at the University. The burden of this appealing address was a more adequate professional preparation as the true response to the true interest of the public and the profession. The address has less of novelty than that delivered in 1877, for the aspirations of that year had now become the custom and practice of the University.

For several years he had been exerting his influence to have Congress establish a National University. In association with Senator George F. Edmunds, he had made direct

[1] Higher Medical Education the True Interest of the Public and of the Profession. Inaugural Address at the Opening of the Four Years' Course of the Medical Study in the University of Pennsylvania, October 2, 1893, by William Pepper, M.D., LL.D., Provost and Professor of the Theory and Practice of Medicine. Reprinted from the University Medical Magazine. 16 pp.

personal appeals to leading public men, had tried to win the active help of prominent educators and men like Mr. Cornelius Vanderbilt, whose influence might lead to the founding of such an institution. He found the South and West favorable, but New England and the East generally unfavorable.

In spite of an active and powerful lobby, which defeated the bill, though the ablest members of both Houses of Congress were in favor of the measure, Dr. Pepper continued his efforts up to a short time before his death.

An estimate of the probable effect of his "giant's strength," if exerted for the founding of a National University, is contained in a letter from the United States Commissioner of Education:

("In Keene, Essex County, N. Y.,
"till August 8th.)

"DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR,
"BUREAU OF EDUCATION, WASHINGTON,
"Aug. 7, '94.

"I write just a line to say that I have received the two letters sent by you, but have been in my retreat at the mountains (the Adirondacks) laying by a month for repairs, and they have remained unanswered because I have not been fit for business. But I am delighted that you have brought your giant's strength to the enterprise of founding a National University at Washington. I shall give my earliest attention to the contents of your letters on my return next Monday. I wrote to my private secretary to forward you the bill and pamphlet published by the Senate.

"W. T. HARRIS."[1]

Another letter from Dr. Harris throws light on Dr. Pepper's plans for organizing public sentiment in support of the University:

[1] MS.

"DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR,
"BUREAU OF EDUCATION,
"WASHINGTON, D. C., October 5, 1894

"I hope you have not attributed my delay in writing to you to any discourtesy of mine. On my return to Washington in the middle of August I found myself in a very malarious atmosphere, and as I am subject to its influence (in fact I left the Mississippi Valley fourteen years ago because I could not live in a malarious climate), I have been confined to my house most of the time since, and only able to do the signing of letters and vouchers at the Bureau, staying only two hours or so each day at my desk. In consequence of this all personal correspondence of any importance has been neglected, simply for the reason of my feebleness.

"I have read your letters as they came, but have not been able to give advice. The subject is one of deep interest, but it is a very delicate subject, and missteps cannot be afforded. On the whole I am of the opinion that you did well to postpone the conference. Such a conference will be a good thing, but had perhaps better come in the spring than in the fall. And, as you intimate in your last note, it would be a great setback to invite a conference which decided by a formal vote adversely to such a university. It would be best first by a wide correspondence, it seems to me, to secure a goodly number of working friends to the cause, then one could call a conference with the assurance that he called a majority of persons friendly to the cause. I should suggest that one of the circle of friends should be formed from members of the Smithsonian Institution and the several government bureaus, taking persons employed as scientific experts. Another circle could be recruited from presidents and professors of State and agricultural universities. They would favor it just simply because they wish to strengthen the tie that binds them to federal support. In the next place I think you are right in supposing the State superintendents of public instruction over the country will be favorable to a National University, also city superintendents generally, because being public officers and having public education at the expense of the government at heart

they will see in a National University something that dignifies and strengthens their function.

"Did you see the quotation from my address on the subject of a National University copied in the pamphlet printed by order of the Senate? My secretary assures me that he mailed you a copy in August. Why would it not be a good thing to form a society whose object shall be the promotion of the cause of a National University? Have a small fee of one dollar monthly for the payment of expenses, or a larger fee, if you were to employ a permanent worker or secretary?

"W. T. HARRIS.

"P. S.—I return to you a paper suggesting your plan. Am sorry that I did not notice before that it was marked 'to be returned.'"[1]

Dr. Pepper's "plan" for a National University, to which the Commissioner refers above, was as follows:

"UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA.

OFFICE OF THE PROVOST.

"1st. It is proposed that the name shall be the University of the United States (for National University at Washington).

"2nd. The University shall be devoted exclusively to instruction of advanced grade, such as is represented by post-graduate work.

"3rd. The requirements for admission shall be the Bachelor's degree in Arts or Science (A.B. or B.S.) from accredited institutions; though, in the case of applicants without such degree, a grade preparation equivalent thereto in the judgment of the professors in charge of the proposed course may be accepted.

"No degree lower than the Doctorate shall be conferred,—*e. g.*, Ph.D.

"There shall be no restriction as to sex, sect, race, or color.

[1] MS., October 5, 1894.

"As the grade of instruction will be so high, and it is proposed to take advantage of the existing facilities of the Government at Washington, such as the Library of Congress and the various scientific collections, etc., it is not expected that any great outlay will be required for extensive grounds or costly buildings. No dormitories will be required. It is suggested that University Square might serve as a site. (Old Naval Observatory. See page 7, Hooker's Bill, H. R., 10,489, Fifty-second Congress.)

"The government of the University shall be vested in a Board of Regents (see Hooker's Bill as to appointing power), one member chosen from each State, and the following members *ex-officio:*

"The President of the United States (who shall be President of the University?). Of course the acting head of the University would be some experienced educator who would give his whole time to the work.

"Vice-President of the United States.

"Chief Justice of the United States (who shall be Vice-President of the University?).

"Speaker of the House of Representatives.

"The Members of the Cabinet.

"The Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution.

"The Commissioner of Education.

"The quorum shall be twenty-five.

"The Board of Regents shall meet at least once yearly, in the City of Washington, D. C., and at such other times as their regulations may direct.

"The Board of Regents may appoint an executive committee from among its own members with such administrative powers as may be deemed expedient to entrust.

"The Board of Regents shall establish general regulations for conducting the operations of the University; shall provide for the appointment of such officers of administration and instruction as it shall from time to time deem necessary; and shall fix the compensation thereto, subject to the limitations hereinafter provided.

"(Don't involve in debt.)

"The tenure of office for the Regents shall be six (6) years. They shall be divided by lot into three classes, to serve respectively for two, four, and six years; vacancies to be filled by the same appointing authority.

"(Define more fully the power of Regents as to scope of University.)

"The Regents shall establish fellowships, in number corresponding to the funds available for that purpose from year to year. These fellowships shall be distributed among the various States and Territories as nearly as practicable according to the population.

"Foreign fellowships may be established in such numbers and on such terms as the Board of Regents may determine.

"In addition to the (prize) fellowships, which will carry free tuition and also a stipend for maintenance, the Regents shall also provide in such manner and on such terms as may be deemed expedient for the admission of fellows or advanced students, who shall pay the tuition fees established and shall receive no stipend for maintenance.

"The Board of Regents shall have power to receive gifts, devises, and bequests; but no sectarian foundation shall ever be established.

"An appropriation of $500,000.

"An endowment of $5,000,000 at five per cent.

"(Insert Section 19 and Section 20 of Ingalls' Bill, S. 846, Forty-ninth Congress.)"[1]

After his retirement from the Provostship he appeared before the House Committee on Education in support of a bill then pending to establish the University of the United States. He said:

[1] MS.

"The question might naturally be put, why is there not already a National University at Washington? instead of, what are the reasons for such a foundation? The leading countries of the world have seen to it with great care and liberality that at the capital of the nation there should be a university, so that national treasures, in the way of art galleries, libraries, scientific collections, and laboratories, might be used for the purpose of higher education. The failure to develop such a teaching university in London may be quoted as the exception, whose unfortunate results prove the wisdom of the rule.

"My interest in this question is not new. Although I have devoted my life to the service of the University of Pennsylvania, to aid, so far as my strength permitted, in the work of building up that institution, I have long felt the importance of a National University in Washington. Even while I was Provost, and straining every nerve to aid the development of the University of Pennsylvania, I advocated the passage of a bill similar to the one before you. I acted then purely in a personal capacity, and, of course, what I express now is in no way official or representative, but simply my personal conviction of the need of a great university in this city. So far from interfering with the prosperity and growth of collegiate institutions in other places, it would strengthen them. It is understood that, as provided in this bill, the National University would be exclusively for advanced work of post-graduate grade. It would not compete with other institutions for undergraduate students. So far from interfering with post-graduate studies at other universities it would secure a fuller recognition of the necessity for more ample provision for such studies at every institution prepared to conduct them.

"What is the number of fellowships open to-day to students desiring advanced instruction? A few hundred at the outside. How many thousands of earnest students, who have in many cases exhausted their resources in securing the ordinary collegiate education, would gladly pursue advanced studies to fit them for higher work as

teachers or writers or investigators, if such opportunities existed in this country? Each great university, it is presumable, will always offer advantages for advanced work in some special lines. The establishment of a National University at Washington, to utilize the vast educational resources of the capital, would surely stimulate activity in the field of advanced study at each and every institution so situated as properly to conduct such studies. Each university finds itself forced to build up, at large expense, a good library; it seeks original manuscripts and documents; it must enter upon explorations and develop a museum; laboratories must be equipped and maintained, and great sums are needed for these purposes. After all is done it must remain impossible to compete with the resources of the National government. Washington has already the material for the greatest university in the land: the richest libraries, the most extensive collections, numerous well-equipped laboratories, departments which are practically organized for original research.

"The bill now under consideration would secure the co-ordination of all these rich facilities and utilize them for the benefit of higher education. It calls for no great expenditure for land or buildings. Endowment and buildings will be needed as the work develops, but to no great extent commensurate with the work done, for so large a part of this work will always be accomplished by utilizing the educational facilities which now exist here, and which must inevitably become more and more expensive, whether co-ordinated in one great national educational work or left to be the coveted prize of a dozen rival denominational colleges. In all religious questions I revere the sincerity of individual belief, and admire the energy of denominational zeal, but in educational matters I would protest against the admission of the denominational spirit. Either the proposed bill will become law, and give to the country a truly federal and national institution, free from political and sectarian influence, or the educational resources and prestige of the capital will become more and more the object of injurious rivalry among many competing, denominational institutions.

"This bill, it is believed, does secure for the proposed university a high degree of protection from political influence. While its finances are intrusted to a small body of regents, all educational questions—the courses to be established, the conditions of admission, the character of examination, the degrees to be conferred, and, above all, the appointment of professors and instructors—are delegated to the university council, a large majority of whose members are to be practical educators, pre-eminently concerned in maintaining the highest standards and in preserving the greatest purity in educational methods.

"It is no question of mere academic interest which is urged on your consideration. It is an affair of the highest practical importance. It concerns vitally the future of education in America. It aims to confer upon Washington, the capital of this people of marvellous destiny, inspirations of a system of higher education worthy of such a nation." [1]

It is difficult to portray a man whose life was so multifarious as Dr. Pepper's. For nearly thirty years he had been toiling, with energy almost superhuman, to advance medical science, to extend the educational opportunities in Philadelphia, to promote the public welfare by giving his life to life's best things. But the physical strain had been intense, even to the danger point. The situation is depicted in a pathetic note which he sent to Dr. Tyson on the 22d of April:

"The winter's work has been so hard that I cannot bring myself to face another like it. Everything is in good shape, and I purpose, therefore, to cut the Gordian knot to-morrow, and want you to have early information of it.

"Yours sincerely,

"W. P."

[1] Senate Report, No. 429, March 10, 1896, 54th Congress, 1st Session, pp. 22, 23, January 23, 1896.

For several years he had been contemplating resigning the office of Provost, and at a special meeting of the Board of Trustees, held on Monday, April 23, 1894, he "cut the knot" by communicating his resignation, at the same time making a gift of $50,000, to be applied to the extension of the Hospital buildings.

"With deep thankfulness," said he, "I recognize that the University has reached a stage of development and prosperity which justifies me in laying down the high office you intrusted to me more than thirteen years ago, and which I have held as long as it was possible to combine the administrative labors of Provost with the demands of medical teaching and practice. This time has now passed, and I beg therefore to tender my resignation to take effect after the coming Commencement.

"The close of the current session will witness the completion of the formative period of the University. From a group of disconnected schools there has been gradually organized a great academic body, complete in its unity and instinct with varied yet harmonious activities. Mutual confidence and co-operation have developed a system strong enough for effective central control, yet so flexible as to admit affiliation with many separate organizations.

"To our University is due the credit of establishing university extension in America, yet the important and successful society which controls this movement has no organic relation with the University, save that the Provost is *ex-officio* the Honorary President. The Wistar Institute of Anatomy and Biology, a magnificent memorial of the founder of American anatomy, has a separate charter and is not owned by the University, yet it is governed by a Board the majority of whose members are appointed by yourselves. The University Hospital, which has grown so prosperously, is a special trust, administered by a Board of twenty-two members, only four of whom are appointed by the Trustees of the University.

"The Department of Archæology and Paleontology, under whose

energetic operations there is developing rapidly a Museum of high rank, is governed by a Board of not less than thirty-six members, of whom only six are appointed by the Trustees of the University. Reference is made to these familiar instances to illustrate the admirable results which may develop under a system which excludes rigid control and rests upon mutual confidence and a common devotion to a great cause.

"It has been the chief aim of your Board to demonstrate to the people of this great Commonwealth that the University is truly the voluntary association of all persons and of all agencies who wish to unite in work for the elevation of society by the pursuit and diffusion of knowledge and truth. No less important has been the establishment of the principle that the University, so far from being a private and exclusive corporation, is essentially and originally a part of the municipality. The large future of the University was secured when, in 1872 and in 1883, City Councils voted, without a dissenting voice, the transfer to the University of splendid tracts of ground in consideration of the establishment in perpetuity of fifty free beds in the Hospital for the poor of Philadelphia, and of fifty prize scholarships in the College, to be awarded to graduates of the public schools of Philadelphia. The subsequent accessions of territory which have brought the domain of the University up to fifty-two acres, in a compact body in the centre of the city, have been the logical consequences of these great steps; and so faithfully have all the trusts and conditions been executed, that it has come to be recognized by the municipal authorities that it is more profitable to the city to give freely to the University anything in its power to bestow which is needed for the development of that institution than to dispose of it elsewhere even at a great price. It needs only the resolute continuance of this wise policy to secure for the University full recognition as a branch of the City government with a duly accredited representative of its great constituency in her Councils.

"Progress has also been made towards the establishment of the essential principle that the University is in right, and should be in

fact, the head of the educational system of the entire Commonwealth. We may fairly claim to have done much towards securing a recognition of the view that the encouragement of higher education, by the municipality and the legislature, is as proper and important in the older communities of America as it has been decided to be in the newer States.

"While the unification of the University and the establishment of broad lines of policy may seem to be the most important work of the past thirteen years, it will be found that the resources of the University and the educational work in each department have been successfully promoted. In 1881 its property was fifteen acres, while at present there are owned or controlled by the University, in a continuous tract and solely for educational purposes, not less than fifty-two acres. The value of the lands, buildings, and endowment in 1881 may be estimated at $1,600,000; it is now over $5,000,000. Prior to the date of the late John Henry Towne's great bequest, the University had never received a single large gift or legacy. During the current year ending September 1, 1894, there will be acquired in lands, buildings, money, and subscriptions not less than $1,000,000. The members of the teaching force in 1881 numbered 88, and the students in all departments 981; at this time the former are 268 and the attendance has reached 2180, representing every State of the Union and no less than thirty-eight foreign countries. The College Department has attained a national distinction, and its complete re-organization, which has now been accomplished successfully, gives sure promise of sound and rapid progress. The Medical School has been advanced to pre-eminence in equipment and prosperity, while plans now maturing will place it abreast of the great schools of Europe. The Law School has effected the prolongation and elevation of its curriculum, and has deservedly won national repute. Encouraging progress has been made towards providing an admirable building on an approved site, so that the future eminence of the school is assured. Gratifying reports may be made of the position of the Dental and Veterinary

Departments, and well-considered plans for their still further development need only time for their fulfillment. Upon this vigorous basis rests the Department of Philosophy, which although organized as late as 1884, and still without special endowment, has already one hundred and fifty-four students. It represents the University in its highest and best intellectual life; it affords inspiration to teachers and students; it has enabled us to extend the richest privileges of the University to women on equal terms with men; it points the way to large endowment of rich research and advanced scholarship.

"The necessity of dormitories to the development of the best University life has come to be clearly recognized by your Board, and generous friends stand ready to supply this important need.

"It is pleasant, in these days of strength and prosperity, to reflect upon those of doubt and struggle, when ridicule met the assertion, the truth of which is now freely conceded, that nowhere can a great university be developed so favorably as in a great city.

"In closing my term of service as Provost I may be permitted to allude to the motives which impel me to this step. The labor of these thirteen years has been so severe, in connection with my professional duties in the Medical School and with the extensive medical practice necessary to provide the funds which have enabled me to initiate nearly all the large movements undertaken during this time, that I have often felt that my life was specially preserved for the work. It has, however, been growing evident, for several years past, that the time was approaching when the immense extent of the University interests would demand the undivided activity of the most energetic man. It has now become necessary for me to choose between administrative work and medical science. My devotion to the latter has determined the choice.

"No official has ever been associated with more affectionate and indulgent colleagues or has enjoyed more loyal co-operation than has been extended to me. I am confident that the choice of my successor will be wisely and promptly made. I do not leave the

service of the University, but will remain, with more free hands, ready to serve her every interest with utmost devotion.

"I invoke upon your continued labors in the government of this grand institution the richest blessings of Almighty God, who has in the past so signally guarded it.

"WILLIAM PEPPER."[1]

Commenting on this letter, the *Medical News* remarked:

"To those who have had any adequate conception of the enormous labor, physical and mental, carried on during the past thirteen years by Provost Pepper in connection with his duties as physician, professor, and chief administrative officer of the University of Pennsylvania, it has seemed simply marvellous that the human organism could endure such a strain. . . .

"It is with a wholly justifiable and honorable pride that Dr. Pepper, in his letter of resignation, recounts the splendid progress made by the University during the time of his administration. Surely the gratitude of the institution, of Philadelphia, of the State, nay, of education, is due him for a devotion and self-sacrifice rarely if ever equalled; and to these the profession of medicine adds a most hearty tribute of appreciation and of pride in the achievements and honors of one of its members."

News of his resignation quickly spread and called forth expressions of regret from all quarters. The letters which he received would, if printed, make a small volume.

One eminent man wrote,—

"If at any time in the future our city is to become a real seat of learning, a Mecca for those who devote themselves to a studious and intellectual career, it is to you more than any other person of this generation, that we shall owe the boon."

[1] Circular, 4 pp.

Another wrote,—

"The cause of higher education in this country will ever be indebted to you for the impetus you have given it and for the results you have achieved, which far outstrip in their influence the magnificent progress that is recorded in the University over which you have presided for the past thirteen years."

"It has been a subject of astonishment," wrote a third, "that you have been able to do so much while pursuing an active and increasing profession."

"I have probably heard," wrote a distinguished University President, "of each step forward as it has been taken, but as I look back upon the distance marched during that period the record is surprising. You can certainly lay down the responsibilities of a leader with the consciousness that the University has grown wonderfully during your administration. It needed such help and stimulus as you alone could give."

The resignation was formally accepted by the Trustees, who at the same time decreed that the honorary degree of Doctor of Laws should be conferred on him at the ensuing Commencement. One of their number, Horace Howard Furness, LL.D., was requested to make an address on that occasion, "expressive of the views of the Board in regard to the services of the Provost and of their regret at his retirement from the office which he has filled with distinction and efficiency unexampled in the annals of the University."

Some time before the announcement of his resignation a movement had been set on foot to honor him with peculiar distinction. It was proposed to present a bust of him to the University with proper ceremony at the next Commencement. The movement originated among a number of his devoted friends, but it met with so much favor that it was decided to give it a wider scope and to include in its sup-

port representatives of the different Departments of the University. The result of this decision was the formation, on the day of his resignation, of a William Pepper Testimonial Committee,[1] which adopted and proceeded to execute the following resolutions:

"That in view of Dr. Pepper's long and untiring services to the best interests of the University and to the cause of higher education, and in view of the large share which his personal effort has had in placing the Institution where it now stands before the eyes of the country, a bronze statue of himself, by Carl Bitter, be presented by us—his co-workers—to the University as an adequate expression of our appreciation, and that a committee be appointed to call upon the chairman of Finance and Property (of the Board of Trustees) to apply for a suitable site whereupon it can be erected."[2]

Commencement Week, which began Thursday, May 31, was unusually brilliant and interesting.[3]

[1] President, Mr. Charlemagne Tower, Jr.; Secretary, Mrs. Cornelius Stevenson; Treasurer, Rev. J. Y. Burk.

[2] Circular Note, May 15, 1894, University of Pennsylvania.

[3] It opened with the annual Commencement exercises of the Zelosophic Society in the College Chapel on the first day. On Friday evening, June 1, in the same place, occurred the annual Junior Oratorical competition for the Alumni prize; on Saturday, about the same hour, was the Sophomore cremation on the University Athletic Grounds; the Baccalaureate Sermon for the University was preached by Rev. D. McConnell, D.D., in Association Hall, Fifteenth and Chestnut Streets, on the evening of Sunday, the 3d of June.[1] At the Chestnut Street Opera House, on Monday, the 4th,

[1] The preacher's text was, "And the peace of God, which passeth all understanding, shall keep your hearts and minds through Christ Jesus." Philippians, iv. 7.

At the close of the Commencement exercises on Thursday, the 7th, over which the Governor of the Common-

at ten A.M., occurred the Class-Day exercises, and in the afternoon the Athletic sports on the ground at Thirty-seventh and Spruce Streets; in the evening the Ivy was planted with ceremony of oration, poem, and song; at nine o'clock the University dance opened in the University Pavilion. Early in the morning of Tuesday, the 5th, there began to assemble on the campus those who were to form the University procession: the Governor of Pennsylvania was escorted by his Staff and the First Troop of Philadelphia City Cavalry, and the Mayor of the city by his officials, who, with the Provost and the Trustees of the University, the Faculties and students of all Departments, then proceeded over the usual route to the Academy of Music, where, at eleven o'clock, were held the annual Commencement exercises marking the one hundred and fifty-fourth year of the University's life. In the evening, at the University Library, there assembled, according to annual custom, the Alumni of the College Department, who partook of a collation, and an hour later the Philomathean Society gave its annual exercises in the College Chapel.

On Wednesday, the 6th, Alumni Day, there was a general reunion of the graduates of all Departments on the University campus, and a statue of Benjamin Franklin, presented by the managers of the Columbian Exposition, was formally given to the University, the oration on this occasion being by Russell Duane, Esq., '91 Law, a lineal descendant of Dr. Franklin.[1] At midday occurred

[1] This statue had a curious fate. It was the colossal staff-cast which stood beneath the portal of the Electricity Building at the Chicago Columbian Exposition, and represented Dr. Franklin flying his historic kite. Professor Thorpe had written to Dr. Pepper about it and aroused in him a desire to possess it for the University. To both it seemed as though it must in time acquire value from the fact of its association with the Chicago celebration, and that it would be worth while to have it cast in bronze and placed on the

wealth, Honorable Robert E. Pattison, presided, Dr. Horace Howard Furness, complying with the request of his co-Trustees, and also complying with the request of the Testimonial Committee that he present the bust of Dr. Pepper to the Trustees, delivered the following address:

"The Trustees, whom I have the honor to represent, have deemed it fitting, on this memorable day, when a chapter of the

the June meeting of the Alumni in the University Library, followed by a collation. On this day also occurred the annual reunion of the Society of the Alumni of the Department of Dentistry; a base-ball game at the University grounds; the Commencement dinner tendered by the Dental Faculty to the graduating class; the performance of "King Arthur" by the Mask and Wig Club of the University at the Chestnut Street Opera House, and the Banquet of the Alumni Society of the Medical Department. On Thursday, the 7th, at the Academy of Music, occurred the Commencement of the Medical, Dental, and Veterinary Schools, with conferring of degrees; and in the afternoon, at the University Library, the exercises of the Phi Beta Kappa Society; the introductory address was given by the venerable President, the Rev. William H. Furness, D.D., and the oration by Hampton L. Carson, Esq. ('91).

campus. Dr. Pepper at once wrote urgently to Mrs. Cornelius Stevenson, begging her to do all in her power to induce the management to present the statue to the University. Such was Dr. Pepper's desire, that he obtained letters from the Mayor of Philadelphia and the Governor of the State of Pennsylvania to bring additional pressure to bear. Mrs. Stevenson, however, had secured the coveted prize before these letters reached her. The statue was brought to Philadelphia at considerable expense, and under the supervision of Professor Laird was erected on the campus near the Library, where it remained for some months. As it threatened to fall into decay, it was taken down, at Dr. Pepper's request, and stored. Some time afterwards Dr. Pepper made inquiries concerning its safe-keeping, with the view of having it cast in bronze, but received the unwelcome intelligence that the statue's head had disappeared.

University's history is about to be closed, that some note be made of the University's present position, and of the influences which have guided it thereto.

"The simplest and most natural way of estimating our height is to recall the level whence we sprung. Be not terrified. I'll not retreat into the 'dark backward and abysm of time,' one hundred and fifty-four years, to the day when this University was founded, but ask you to go with me in your memory no further than in the year 1881, and, imagining ourselves within the wooden enclosure which then surrounded the University, take a bird's-eye view of the College buildings. (It needn't be a very large bird—I think a sparrow will do.) We see the College Hall, the Medical and Dental Laboratory, and a little further off, the half-sized University Hospital. In all, four buildings, standing on a plot of about fifteen and a half acres. Within these buildings, one of which holds the modest library of 20,000 volumes, forty-four professors and instructors teach Latin, Greek, Mathematics, French, German, Music, Medicine, Dentistry, and Law, to nine hundred and eighty-one students, of whom by far the larger number are in the Medical Department, but all of them hungry after knowledge, and the professors have hard work to keep their little gaping mouths well filled.

"This was the University thirteen or fourteen years ago, sedate, conservative, respectable; quiescent in the belief that the methods of education which were wholesome for the fathers must be wholesome and all-sufficient for the sons and grandsons. Then came a revival of interest in education, sweeping like a wind over Europe, and reaching these shores. In one of the eddies, accelerated, it may be, by the rush of the nations through our Centennial town, our dear old University was caught, and lifting her serene eyes, she too pleaded for a wider range of usefulness and a larger recognition.

"The Provost at that time had accomplished a fine task, and had guided the University from its dingy, somnolent rooms in the

heart of the city to these new halls on the banks of the Schuylkill; but the voice of his early love still charmed him, that voice from whose accents he had learned 'How a Free People conduct a Long War,' and under whose inspiration he had sent this knowledge forth to fill with renewed energy and with exhilarating hope the hearts of the whole North, from Lincoln in the Presidential chair down to the armed citizens in the ranks.

"The summons of this voice to those fair but neglected fields of historical research Provost Stillé could not disobey, and from those fields, as we are all proud to know, he has since then garnered fruits and harvests which have placed his name high among the historians of the land.

"And so we had to find a new Provost.

"Do you think that an easy task? Bethink you,—what are the qualities which hope bade us find somewhere or other embodied in one man? Our ideal Provost had to be a man of marked individuality (a quality predestined to hostile criticism); a man of administrative ability (which is sure to collide with indolent inertia—the besetting sin of students); a man of firm will; able to read the future in the instant; of consummate tact; and above all he must be vigilant to discern in the educational heavens the signs of the time. Lastly, our ideal Provost, while he need not of necessity be an anatomist, must nevertheless know, to the extremest nicety, the exact location in every man's body of the pocket-book nerve—that nerve of the keenest sensibility in the whole system, and our ideal Provost must know when, and where, and how to touch this nerve so as to excite the largest reflex action.

"Do you think such Provosts are as plenty as blackberries?

"What an anxious time it was, in those far-off days! Numberless were the candidates whose fitness was discussed. I remember I was deputed, when in Boston, to sound the Reverend Phillips Brooks, and on two different days I pleaded with him. To him whose love for young men was commensurate only with his power over them, the temptation to accept the office of Provost here was,

as he repeatedly said, very great; at one time I was filled with hope, but at the last he decided that, dearly as he loved Philadelphia, the clearer vision forbade him to desert his Boston parish.

"You all know where our choice, our happy choice, at last fell, thirteen years ago. Would you know how happy that choice has proved, lift your eyes and mark: In addition to the four buildings which we saw thirteen years ago, we now see a Library, as a building one of the finest and best equipped in the land, holding within its fire-proof walls 120,000 bound volumes, and already becoming the nucleus of pleasant college memories; we see an Electrical Laboratory, where the thunderbolt, which the founder of this University snatched from the skies, is reclaimed from the wild zigzag courses of its youth, and, while teaching us how to control it, is itself taught decorum and sobriety and how to earn its living—or if not 'its' living, it is taught to earn ours, which is better; we see a large Central Light and Heat Station; we see a Veterinary Building with its long row of pathetic hospital stalls—I say 'pathetic' because in them stand the patient, disabled breadwinners of many and many a poor household, to which, by the best skill of this beneficent institution, they are restored, when possible, sound and ready for renewed gain-giving toil; behind this long, low building we see the pretty, cottage-like Hospital with its piazzas and verandahs, where, for that most faithful friend of man, the dog, every canine comfort is provided in his ailments, and where physic is gently administered, and not brutally thrown to him as Macbeth prescribes (but what else could we expect from that wicked tyrant? Ah, what profound lessons Shakespeare teaches! In that tragedy he shows us that when once a man has entered on the downward path by murdering his king he goes from bad to worse until at last he will not scruple to recommend that physic be thrown to the dogs! We always administer it at the Veterinary gently, with a spoon—and plenty of it.) Beyond the Veterinary Building stands the Biological Building, into whose admirable museums and attractive lecture rooms who can enter without wishing to 'call back

yesterday, bid Time return,' that, once more a youth, he can there drink thirsty drafts of the knowledge of Life in its Protean forms? We note a spacious wing added to the Hospital, almost doubling its size, and near by, a delightful, attractive Home for Nurses where, during the hours when they are not watching by the bed of pain, all the comfort and seclusion of a home are provided for those white-robed ministrants of mercy; and on the other side two Maternity Hospitals; behind them all, the Mortuary, complete with every appliance suggested by modern skill and experience; on the right is the Wistar Institute of Anatomy, that fine institution, unparalleled, I believe, in this country, devoted solely to original research, whence will issue, in coming years, solutions of Nature's mysteries of inestimable benefit to mankind; and on the left the homelike residence devoted to the accommodation of the young women attending the professional schools; beyond is the Hygienic Laboratory, where microbes and bacilli are challenged and made to stand and deliver, and where we learn that the true Battle of Life is fought in our veins and arteries; and, still further on, is the Laboratory of Chemistry, that fascinating science the sum of whose formulas must have been in the Creative Mind when the morning stars sang together and Eternity became time. In addition we see a Dining Hall, and the Athletic Grounds, whereon, to make the balance true between all departments, the worship of brain is counterpoised by the worship of brawn.

"Thus much for the mere buildings, which now number twenty in all, five times as many as we saw in 1881, while the College grounds have expanded to fifty-two acres, as against the former fifteen and a half.

"If we turn to the list of professors and instructors, we find that there are six times as many now as there were thirteen years ago. Our last catalogue shows that they now number two hundred and sixty-eight, and the number of students has more than doubled. There are now two thousand one hundred and eighty,—cormorants for knowledge who are eminently successful in keeping their pro-

fessors from falling into mischief which Satan finds for idle hands to do.

"If we compare the value of the property of all kinds held by the University in 1881 with that it now holds, we shall find the same noteworthy increase. In that year, in round numbers, it was sixteen hundred thousand dollars. It is estimated in this present year to be, also in round numbers, five millions of dollars. Assuredly a mighty sum! and assuredly a meagre pittance! At this hour the University is poor, wretchedly poor, and she would still be poverty stricken, let us fervently hope, if she had fifty millions, instead of five. When any institution, as has been said, needs no more money, its hour of usefulness has struck, its life has departed, and it had better close its gates. Every appeal for money which the University makes is the birth-cry of a new department which will widen its resources, extend its educational power, and enable it to answer the needs of the day. Expansion means life, and life means growth, and growth means money. Spell 'growth' as you please, according to the good old fashion, or according to the reformed spelling, 'groth,' but in our University parlance it must be always pronounced 'money.' Never, therefore, as you love the dear old University, think that its cries for help will ever, ever cease. In that hour when it says it has enough, oh, then be sure to say the University is dead.

"In additional proof of the University's growth during the last decade let me enumerate the Departments which have been instituted, and not merely instituted, but welded into one organic whole, in itself a noteworthy achievement. The mere titles are sufficient. To give a full description of each one, describing its scope, its success, the exactness with which it fills any educational need, would outweary patience.[1]

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[1] "I do not give them chronologically in the order of their establishment, but they are:

"Auxiliary to these departments, and enlarging those already established, the courses in Mechanical Engineering, in Civil En-

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"The Wharton School of Finance and Economy,
"The Biological Department,
"The Department of Philosophy,
"The Department of Physical Education,
"The Veterinary Department,
"The Auxiliary Department in Medicine,
"The Training School for Nurses,
"The Post-Graduate Course in Law,
"The University Library,
"The Graduate Department for Women,
"The Biddle Law Library,
"The Department of Archæology and of Paleontology,
"The Department of Hygiene,
"The Semitic Department and of Assyriology,
"The Department of American History,
"The Department of Architecture,
"The Wistar Institute of Anatomy and Biology.

"Among the Departments established in 1891 was the School of American History and Institutions. 'For some time previous to this date,' said Dr. Pepper, in his report, 'Professor Francis N. Thorpe, then Lecturer in American History, had been quietly collecting, through the liberality of a few interested individuals, a valuable library in American History, comprising almost a complete set of the records of the National Government, Laws of States and Territories, State Records and Municipal Ordinances, now amounting to about thirteen thousand volumes. With this as the basis of instruction and research, the scheme for a school in this important line of study was carefully elaborated and placed in charge of John B. MacMaster, Professor of American History, and Francis N. Thorpe, Professor of American Constitutional History. The actual work of the school began in October, 1892. The idea of such a

gineering, in Chemistry, in Architecture, and in the Wharton School have been extended to four years.

"The Law Course and the Dental Course, from two years have been enlarged to three years, and the Medical to four years.

"Probably no statement can show more concisely or more strikingly the expansion of the University than the fact that in 1881 there were one hundred and fifty-four courses of study open to students, and that there are now, under the elective system, six hundred.

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school was suggested by Mr. Thorpe at the time preparations were being made for the celebration of the one hundredth anniversary of the adoption of the Constitution. There seemed reasonable hope at that time that the interest in American history which this and other centennials then impending would probably arouse might prepare the way for the establishment and maintenance of such a school. At first no more was planned than to secure the endowment of fellowships in American history, but the response of friends to the movement seemed to assure the execution of a larger plan. For a time there seemed little doubt that an adequate endowment might be secured, but sickness, disaster, and death among the friends of the movement prevented the fulfillment of this hope. The Library was the fruit of much personal sacrifice. At the time that its collection began, the material in the University for the study of American history was fragmentary and limited. It was thought that, through the liberality of friends, a practically complete library in American history might be acquired. Duplication of material to be found in other libraries in the city, and especially that in the Pennsylvania Historical Society, was carefully avoided. At a critical time in the progress of the work one of its friends, who had promised it large pecuniary assistance, failed, and it was found necessary to make new arrangements. Ultimately the amount due under the contracts which had been made was raised and the books paid for. The period of their collection covered six years.'

"Furthermore, in pursuance of a far-sighted policy, the Provost has gathered around the University certain groups of earnest men and women who, under the University's sanction and encouragement, carry on, with no tax on our overburdened finances, the University's work, be it in accumulating museums, or in providing lectures, supervising hospitals, etc.

"Nor should those fine publications be forgotten which our professors from time to time send forth under the University's imprimatur, carrying to the wide world of letters at home and abroad the proofs of exact and refined scholarship and research.

"Nay, in answer to our knockings the centuries buried beneath the sandy plains of Nippur have awakened to tell across the ages the old, old story of human life.

"Here, at last (not by co-education, though,—Heaven save the mark!), women have the chance to prove what we have all along known in our secret, envious hearts to be the truth: their intellectual superiority to men, and that Nature's law is that finer, fairer clay clothes finer minds.

"Moreover, as the whole country cannot come to the University, our Provost has been foremost in extending the resources of the whole University to the country.

"Indeed, we have not rested in letting scholarships alone extend our fame; have we not enlisted the animal kingdom? Birds, beasts, and reptiles have flown, hopped, skipped, and jumped in every phase of animal locomotion through the capitals of Europe and the palaces of the kings; and every one of them labeled: 'University of Pennsylvania.'

"And that we might not hide our light under a bushel, displays and specimens of our work have been sent to the international exhibitions in New Orleans, in Madrid, and in Chicago.

"As an outgrowth of the present time, the prophetic eye sees, added to the Hospital, another wing, devoted to children and to surgery, and dedicated to the memory of our idolized Agnew.

"Furthermore, in that same prophetic vision, there rises, as an

extension of the Hospital, a Pathological Laboratory built by Provost Pepper as a filial and enduring memorial of his father, who was once the honored incumbent of the chair of the Theory and Practice of Medicine now held by his son.

"These are some of the outward and visible expressions of the University of Pennsylvania, as it stands to-day. But are they The University? 'Stone walls do not a prison make,' nor do they make a university. We may cover acres with buildings filled with every appliance for tuition, and yet they may all be dead and as unproductive of any good to the world, as unresponsive to any intellectual need of the life that now is, as are the monastic cells in the desert of the Thebaid. A university, in this country, should be not only a place of instruction or of original research, but should be something more: it should be a centre whence, not merely by the annual graduating classes but through the active enthusiasm of its Faculties, an intellectual life shall be diffused far and wide. And if, happily, the university be placed in a vast city, as here, its influence should be discernible throughout the whole educational system of that city. It should be the summit of a 'starry-pointed pyramid' composed of the multitudinous schools of the Commonwealth. To attain this exalted position, in which every citizen should take pride, the University must be brought into close relations to the civic government, and in the City Councils and State Legislatures it should have duly elected representatives. All this the prophetic eye sees steadily approaching.

"Within its own walls, however, its first endeavor is not to turn out deep thinkers or leaders in politics or in the arts, any more than it is the object of a cook to make fat men. Leadership will come in the fulness of time to those of its graduates who are leaders By the Grace of God. As well might we demand of our Professors of Finance that they should turn out every year a whole class of millionaires. Nay, on the Johnsonian, burlesque principle that 'who drives fat oxen should himself be fat,' we might demand that these professors should themselves be the very wealthiest of men. (In-

deed, I wish they were!) What a University can attempt with any hope of success, is to make an already keen love of knowledge keener, and to teach the average young man how to assimilate books. It can teach how to study, how to think, and in the professional schools, how to mine knowledge,—in short, how to begin life. To demand of it that it should make of young men leaders or impart extraordinary proficiency in any direction is to ask to put old heads on young shoulders, an experiment destined to turn out as disastrously as Bottom's experience in 'A Midsummer Night's Dream.' It should be a training school for every faculty with which nature has endowed us. Every pathway should be made a thoroughfare to that intellectual, supernal plain where, as Milton says, all is 'so smooth, so green, so full of goodly prospect and melodious sounds on every side.' After the University's work is done, and its students have been led forth (in its true derivative sense educated) from the darkness of ignorance, all future careers, whether as leaders or as followers, or as mere nonentities, must be left to circumstances, and to that formula on which every man's temperament is based.

"But in order to accomplish this work, in order to open these pathways, the University's resources must be as complete as possible, and supplemented by a close correspondence with the times. It must lie, 'all Danaë to the stars,' receptive to all good influences. And, thus receptive, thus responsive, thus obedient to its duty to students, there will thence ensue a beneficent power on the community at large; and while seeming to lead it will in reality follow.

'As unto the bow the cord is,
So unto the man is woman:
Though she bends him, she obeys him;
Though she draws him, yet she follows.'

"This should be the relationship of the University to the world around it. Though it leads the intellectual thought of the day, it really follows it; though it seems to give the watchword, it gives in reality the reply.

"Has our University reached this standard, and not only does this tie bind it to the Commonwealth, but is there in all its fair buildings and in its thronged lecture rooms the quickening, informing life which yields vitality to every scion of learning budded on it? Have there from this casket of erudition shone forth the sparkling rays which attract to it the admiration and the pride of men, far and wide? Is it dear to every young soul as the spring where the consuming thirst for knowledge may be slaked? Do men and women of mature years look to it as the focus, the hearthstone, of that fire which is to warm into activity all their intellectual life?

"The presence here to-day of this assemblage of thousands gives the triumphant answer.

"To the hearts of thoughtful men and women in this city and in this State, the career and fortunes of the University of Pennsylvania come home this day with a personal force undreamed of in former years. Well has it been recently said by his Honor the Mayor, that 'Nothing so well attests the advance of Philadelphia as the growth of the University.' Brave words, wherein our University finds its grandeur and its power.

"And all this is the work of the last decade, under the guiding influence of one man.

"To this present position of the University (thus most briefly recalled), to the increase of buildings, to the increase of professors, to the increase of students, of departments, of pecuniary resources, to its higher influence, its consolidated organization, and its keen intellectual activity—to all these the Trustees appeal this day as a justification of the wisdom of their choice thirteen years ago.

"And to the Provost of their choice, in this closing hour of his official duties, the Trustees acknowledge their appreciation of his unparalleled services, and, remembering the self-distrust and pale misgivings with which he assumed his high office, they are happy in the consummation which has made that office higher than their imaginations conceived when he ascended the chair.

"We, therefore, the Trustees, believing that, on an occasion like the present, the briefest words are the strongest, ask him here and now to accept this public expression of our official thanks.

"So far the University, as an institution.

"Let me now, as Anacreon says, change the chord, and doffing the Trustee, turn to matters more personal."[1]

He then presented to the University the bust of Dr. Pepper in the following words:

"It is not often in a man's life that he finds himself obliged, as I now find myself, to speak privately in public. But on the subject to which we must now turn, I must speak to you very confidentially, as far as the Provost is concerned; if after this warning he chooses to listen,—well, there is a proverb about 'listeners' which he can lay to heart, and if he wince, he must not blame us.

"'Tis a thankless task to refer to the imperfections in human nature—it's the only nature we have, and we had better make the best of it. Yet we cannot quite shut our eyes to the consciousness that there is, in this nature of ours, at least one uncomfortable trait,—I had almost termed it a detestable trait,—which is: An aversion to praise any man, and above all to rear any monument to him, while he is living. We fill high the sparkling bowl to the memory, and we pile high with wreaths the tombs, of men to whom when living we vouchsafe not much more than a supercilous nod. They may have craved a word of sympathy or of admiration, and we are marble mute; but no sooner are they where 'Honor's voice' cannot 'provoke the silent dust,' nor 'flattery

[1] University of Pennsylvania. Commencement, 7 June, 1894. Address by Horace Howard Furness, delivered at the request of his co-Trustees, in accordance with a resolution passed at a Trustees' meeting when the Provost's resignation was accepted; also a short address made by him at the unveiling of the model of a statue of Provost Pepper. Philadelphia, 1894.

soothe the dull, cold ear of Death,' than we burst forth into applause of their deeds, rend the air with our pæans of lofty praise, and erect their statues. Herein the world has grown no better since the days of Homer: 'Seven Grecian cities'—you all know the distich.

"But without stopping to analyze this feeling, let us, at least, here and now, reform the practice, and, remembering who it is that has raised this dear University to her present eminence, and recalling who it is that has toiled night and day in her behalf, and made her influence felt throughout this city, and throughout these Middle States, with never a thought of self, or of his own interest, or of his own ease, let us cast to the winds this petty, unworthy feeling, and say, outright to his face, how we love, and honor, and admire our Provost.

"In the midst of our applause and admiration of our retiring Provost (it is the very first time, by the way, that, where the interests of the University were concerned, he has been retiring), let us not forget that, while exactly fulfilling these manifold and most onerous duties as the head of a large University, he was still in active practice as a far-famed physician:

> 'Who doomed to go in company with Pain
> And Fear and Bloodshed, miserable train!
> In face of these doth exercise a power
> Which is our human nature's highest dower.'

"The large emoluments derived from this widely extended practice he has bestowed with lavish hand on the University; the stores of experience there gained he gives in his lectures to his large classes in the Medical School.

"But all this pertains somewhat to that official character which he is so soon to put off. Our dismay herein would be profound did we not believe that under the wise rule of him whose modesty will permit us to call him only a half successor, the glowing and exuberant health of our fair and ever young mother would con-

tinue. But shall we not, once more before we part, come even closer to our Provost, and say how he has personally endeared himself to us all? Shall we not recall that gentleness, that urbanity, that intense earnestness which lent mettle to every professor and to every student within our gates, and that unflagging industry and Titanic power to work, which have been the admiration of all,—and the despair. Those who have been close behind him have known better, perhaps, than others at a distance, how single has been his eye in every question of the University's interests, and that it has been his self-effacement which, 'Clock to itself, knew the true minute' when to act.

"No 'fair mother' ever had a more devoted, self-forgetting son, and she cannot forget him. No perennial bronze is needed to secure his memory. When he has 'joined the choir invisible' (Absit omen!

'Serus in cœlum redeat, diuque
Lætus intersit populo!')

he will 'live again in minds made better' by his labors here. Each annual wave dismissed from this spot will, in ever-widening circles, carry his influence long and far. But this assurance, firm though it be, is, for us simple folk, somewhat of the chameleon's dish, promise-crammed, and we have Hamlet's word that there is no strengthening power there. Wherefore in this materialistic age, we, the sons of the University by birth and by adoption, cannot be contented with anything less substantial than a visible, material sign of what must some day be an immaterial presence. As 'the meanest garment which has but clipped the form of those we love' is dear to us, so we crave, for our Provost, what is even better: his likeness in his habit as he lived, 'wherein the sculptor had a strife with nature to outdo the life,' to which we can point in future years and say 'Sic sedebat.' Albeit we know that 'that better Self shall live till time shall fold its eyelids,' yet this statue, moulded by hands of highest skill, shall, when cast in enduring bronze, transmit to future ages the lineaments we all love so well.

It is not unlikely that, at first, even this will disappoint you, the living face with its color and softer outline is too vividly present in your thoughts. But the time will come when generations now unborn will gaze with gratitude upon it, and then, when all discords are hushed and all petty limitations of mortality are forgotten, and we are all gone 'where are no storms, no noise, but silence and eternal sleep,' then shall this image which I now unveil be held as the true effigy of one whose heart and soul and mind and strength were devoted, while Provost, to the University of Pennsylvania.

"'Who is the Happy Warrior? Who is he
That every man in arms should wish to be?
Who, when mortal mists are gathering, draws
His breath in [serene hope] of Heaven's applause?
This is the Happy Warrior! This is he
That every man in arms should wish to be!'"

Of Dr. Pepper's thoughts and emotions at this time nothing need be said in this place; but their character might have been discerned could the public, as it listened to his address in the afternoon to the Alumni of the College Department, have read between the lines.

"June 7, 1894.

"I am aware that it has come to be regarded as a customary part of the proceedings on this occasion for the Provost to render some account of the leading events affecting our University which have occurred during the preceding year. This has always been to me an agreeable duty; to-night it is doubly so because the past year has been in every way the most prosperous one in the history of the University. The only drawback to this pleasure is the thought, that for reasons which have seemed conclusive to myself I have, as you well know, decided that this shall be the last occasion on which I can so address you. It seemed twenty years ago as though it were too much for one to hope to live to see the day when the University of Pennsylvania should attain the development and

[illegible] Heart and soul at [illegible] the University of Pennsylvania [illegible]

[illegible] and emotions at [illegible] but their character [illegible] as it [illegible] of the College D[illegible]

"I [illegible] me to be regarded [illegible] part of [illegible] this occasion for the [illegible] some account [illegible] events affecting our U[illegible] have [illegible] during the preceding year. This has always [illegible] [illegible]able [illegible]; [illegible] the past year [illegible] way the most prosperous one [illegible] The only drawback to this pleasure is the thought [illegible] for reasons which have seemed conclusive to [illegible] [illegible] shall be the last [illegible] It [illegible] twenty years ago [illegible] one [illegible] to live to see the [illegible]

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receive the recognition due to her age and opportunities. What baneful influence had chilled and withered the public spirit that flourished so vigorously in Philadelphia one hundred years ago? We never grew deaf to the cry of suffering: our charities had become numerous and wealthy. But what of the higher intellectual life of the city, of the cultivation of literature, of art, of music? A miserable record from which one turns with shame. The rank of any community may be judged as fairly by what it gives for the higher education as in any other way. For nearly seventy years Philadelphia, and indeed the whole of Pennsylvania, utterly ignored this vital interest. The disastrous effects of this period of stagnation upon the University were typical of what happened to the general literary and artistic interests of the community. The Centennial Exposition marked an awakening of the public mind and conscience in these great matters. The task of those who have decided to labor for the intellectual advancement of this city and State has been far easier since, and it is no exaggeration to say that the results achieved have been gratifying and encouraging. Even what has been accomplished by the efforts of us who have worked for the University may illustrate this. I can more properly speak for the changes which have been wrought in the thirteen years during which I have had the honor to hold the office of Provost of the University.

"I would not seem to attach too great importance to the mere acquisition of lands and buildings and endowments, though these have been considerable. Yet it is not too much to say that the various steps, always taken with strenuous effort, by which our territory has been increased from nine to fifty-two acres, have been those which determined decisively the growth and future greatness of the University. I know no other institution favored with such a domain in the centre of a vast community; and I have never doubted that these territorial advantages would result in the development here of one of the largest and most important collegiate communities in the world. The addition of three and a half millions to the value of

our holdings in lands, buildings, and endowments in thirteen years is a creditable showing; though other institutions have surpassed it, and though the last year brought us almost one million in such value as an indication of the far more rapid rate of acquisition henceforward. I know well that the rapidity with which departments have been multiplied and modifications introduced into the educational methods here at the University has often excited criticism as to the soundness of the policy which governed these develments. Gloomy prophecies are never wanting, nor are critics, both kindly and the other sort. It may be truly said that each change has been based upon the cool and deliberate calculation of its practical results as well as of its educational effect. The standards have been raised at every point; the value of every diploma issued by the University has been greatly enhanced; and complete reorganization of each department has been effected with immense increase in efficiency and productiveness. The teaching force has grown from 88, in 1881, to 268 at present. But this has been no disproportionate or excessive increase, for the number of students in attendance has increased at the same time from 981 to 2180. It is true that the University has been liberal in extending scholarship aid to deserving students, and that as a result of the wise and happy relations established with the municipality we carry fifty prize city scholarships. Nevertheless, the substantial character of the increase in the body of the students may be inferred from the increase in fees, the amount received in 1881 having been $92,701, as against $230,567 actually received during the current year. It is impossible to separate the financial results from the other effects of the administration of a University. It is easy to frame schemes; the difficulty is to select those only which are capable of being put into successful operation. The Committee on Finance and Property have requested the Treasurer of the University to furnish me, in advance of the appearance of his annual Report, with an abstract of his statement. The total value of the University property in 1881 was $1,600,000; it is now $5,417,035.

"You may have heard statements to the effect that the University is in debt, and it is true that on this property, as above estimated, there are obligations of $338,939. But it must be added that these obligations are represented by a tract of land purchased by the University for $150,000, and by the Central Heat and Light Station, the outlay on which has been $211,753. The ten acres of ground which the University purchased, and borrowed the money to purchase, for $15,000, could, we are told by reliable judges, be sold to-day for over $250,000. It has furnished a site for the Laboratory of Hygiene, and, in part, also for the new Laboratory of Chemistry. For the present the greater part of this splendid tract of ground is placed at the disposal of the Athletic Association, under the appropriate name of Franklin Field.

"Of the Central Heat and Light Station it is truly said by the Treasurer that it provides a source of large revenue through the increase in fees from students of the School of Mechanical Engineering, and it promotes the comfort and well-being of the whole University by rendering to its departments a better service of heat, light, and ventilation than could otherwise be obtained. Each department is charged upon an equitable basis for its share of the above advantages, so that, while a first-class service is secured in place of the former inferior one, it is hoped that actual saving will be effected by the economies possible through a single central plant, instead of a series of heating and lighting plants in each separate building in the University domain. That we may regard the financial position of the University with satisfaction is further shown by the figures furnished as to the current income and expenses. In 1881 there was a debt of $450,000, in the form of mortgage bonds bearing six per cent. interest, and covering the entire property of the University. Unfortunately, this did not represent only productive additions to the facilities of the University. It represented rather the accumulation at compound interest of the large annual deficits recurring during a series of years. To cancel this debt was a most difficult matter. A considerable amount of money was raised by

private subscription, and the balance was paid off from the unrestricted general fund of the University, with the result that this highly important fund was practically extinguished for the time. I assume that every educational institution is run at a loss, and there is an annual deficit to be dealt with. But we have succeeded in meeting this deficit with funds secured specially for that purpose. Indeed, the Treasurer informs me that for the past three years the current receipts have exceeded the current expenditures by over $7000. You will appreciate, therefore, the extreme satisfaction with which I quote the above official figures at the close of my administration.

"Speaking to you, my brother Alumni, in the intimacy of this fraternal meeting, I cannot forbear an allusion to my own personal feelings in severing a tie which has so long bound me to the University. I have given the best years of my life to her service, but it has never caused a moment's regret or hesitation. I loved the University as a boy; that love has grown with my growth and strengthened with my strength. I have often feared I loved her too well; and yet I can truly say that the most elevating influences of my life have come from that devotion. It has never seemed to me that what we call great power and high office could be other than large opportunities for lowly service. Of the affectionate relations which have so richly blessed these years of University work, of the ardent co-operation, the loyal support, the growing appreciation of the community, I cannot trust myself to speak. Of course I have received vastly more credit than I am entitled to. The results above sketched could not come save from the generous and devoted exertions of many workers. It is one of the best features of University life that all become so intensely desirous of the advancement of the great cause which is represented by the University that minor and personal considerations are largely lost sight of. Great success in any important movement gives no excuse for complacency or for repose. It is only an added reason for greater exertion. The field before us in our University work is

without limit; what has been acquired and accomplished is trifling in comparison with what must be secured and must be done. It is a hard thing for one whose heart is in a large task to decide the moment when it is wise to hand over to another the charge of leadership confided to him. If the work is prospering, so many motives seem to prompt even a longer delay. When I accepted the call to be Provost of the University I promised my family that I would hold the position only for three or at the outside for five years. One important question has arisen after another; complications have developed which needed adjustment. One cannot leave a post of trust unless all is prosperous; one shrinks from abdicating when it has become a position of assured honor and power. Since I resolved to resign the Provostship I found myself assailed by disquieting suggestions from within; but there was not one of them which, in the last analysis, was other than some expression of vanity.

"I found I could not abandon the pursuit of medical science; and I knew it would be a physical impossibility for any one to continue the double labor I have borne for nearly fifteen years, long after reaching, as I have done, the age of fifty years. One would not wish to hold on with failing powers until comment grew as to the poor discharge of duty. One would not wish to leave to a successor the example of relaxed efforts and halting policy, which would ill serve as a stimulus to his own labors. Rather should he strive to seize the moment when the chariot wheels of progress are turning most swiftly to resign the reins,—knowing that while the impetus may sustain the speed for a brief time, its continuance will call out all the skill and exertions of him who takes the seat. Every one in this room is pledged to continued and to even more earnest efforts to advance the development of our dear Alma Mater. A glorious opportunity is before her; it demands only united and determined work on our part. What has been done already is but the beginning; all that can be accomplished during our lifetime will but enable us to see more clearly the outlines of that ideal

University to which we aspire; but which, as embodying the loftiest conceptions of each generation, and modified to meet the requirements of advancing civilization, will ever rise higher and higher above the level of achievement, and will serve to future ages, as it does to ours, as a pure and powerful incentive to devoted exertions in the sacred cause of knowledge and truth. I do not bid you farewell. I am and shall always be one of you. But I wish I could adequately thank you for all the cordial friendship and the strengthening approval you have extended to me during the years of my official life."

Two weeks later, Dr. Pepper delivered an address before the Cleveland Medical Society on "National and Municipal Relations of the Medical Profession." Perhaps the most interesting passage in it referred to the new movements in which he was now interested,—the Free Library of the City of Philadelphia and the creation of a National University at Washington.

"It seems evident that to secure a broad, popular recognition of the paramount claims of hygiene and preventive medicine there must be prosecuted vigorously an education of the entire community, and there must be exhibited on the part of physicians a still higher conception of our duty as public-spirited and disinterested citizens. I am persuaded that nothing will conduce more to this consummation we seek than such measures as your society is engaged in carrying out.

"Build deep and broad the foundations of your library. It will have great weight in effecting the organization of the profession and in bringing it into relations of reciprocal benefit with the community. Insist upon having your own suitable fire-proof building, your own adequate endowment, and a broad and liberal administration. It is doubtful if there exist any more powerful human agency for the amelioration of society than a free public library; with the free school it will prove irresistible. You also will find your medi-

cal library a potent influence. It should be affiliated with the free public library of your city; it should be open freely to all serious readers; it should, of course, extend the most liberal facilities to the medical profession of the entire State. The fine example of Case is familiar to all of us. It will serve as an incentive to others to do for medical science what this wise benefactor did for the general public. Let us show that we would regard the high privileges we claim as the custodians of the public health just as we regard those we now enjoy as the confidential advisers on all questions concerning personal hygiene. These are sacred trusts whose sanction reposes as much in the cultivated intelligence of the community as in the scrupulous fidelity and technical skill of the profession. It is our duty to work for the mental as well as the physical welfare of society, and no one who gives attention to the subject will challenge the assertion that 'free libraries are as indispensable to the mental health of a city as are its public parks, water supply, or sewers to its physical health.' As the president of the Free Library of the City of Philadelphia, I have been led to study somewhat closely the growth and influence of the free library movement in this country and elsewhere.

"It always happens that so soon as the public have a taste of the advantages of a good library it demands more and more free enjoyment of its happy influence. Every town in every State of the Union must have its free library. Every medical centre must also have its fully endowed medical library. I would urge that we see to it that no department of our free libraries be more fully represented than that of public health, and that every publication is there included that will draw our people to the study of hygiene, and thus to a knowledge of the vast work to be accomplished in the field of preventive medicine. And in like manner I would urge the free admission of all serious readers to those sections of our medical libraries which are devoted to the great subject of sanitary science. Let us organize! Let us organize! Let us educate, educate, educate!

"So far as strictly medical organization is concerned, our work is well advanced. The county societies lead to the State society, and the State societies to the American Medical Association. The corporate as well as the scientific interests of the profession are well represented in these bodies. The various special societies of national scope afford unrivalled fields for purely technical work of the highest order; and the federation of these into the Triennial Congress of American Physicians and Surgeons gives a wholesome breadth and an elevating purpose to the entire group. Cordial relations have been established with the organization of health officers. The success of the Pan-American Medical Congress may well seem to complete the task. More broad and catholic in its spirit than any previous organization, it has brought into organic relations the medical profession of the entire continent; has secured full governmental recognition of our efforts for public health; has created continuing agencies capable under vigorous administration of yielding splendid results, both scientific and practical. I believe that we shall be found worthy of these great opportunities, and that by our loyal support of our organizations we shall make them more and more fruitful of good, and shall raise them higher and higher in the estimation of the world.

"Nor should we fail to labor for equally comprehensive organization of our educational work. The public primary school, the high and normal schools, the college and the university, must constitute an unbroken series of graded and adjusted educational agencies. The culmination of these systems in the several States should surely be found in a federal university at the capital of the nation. The spectacle of rival religious denominations struggling for precedence in the establishment of denominational colleges of the regulation type is unworthy of the vast educational facilities offered in the city of Washington. High authorities differ as to the best way of availing ourselves of these facilities; objections have been urged to all the plans as yet brought forward. I can conceive of a truly federal university dedicated exclusively to post-graduate work; re-

quiring no vast outlay for buildings, libraries, museums, or laboratories, but provided with many endowed fellowships open to men and women alike; under the supervision of a board of trustees, one member of which should be appointed by the university system of each State; with a faculty composed in part of the eminent experts stationed at Washington and in part of the ablest teachers selected from year to year from the various colleges, who would regard it as an honor and a privilege to spend a sabbatical year in the highest type of work as a member of such a representative faculty. Might we witness at the opening of the twentieth century the organization of the medical and sanitary interests of the nation completed by the creation of a government department with a secretary of public health in the Cabinet of the President, and the organization of a truly federal university; and might we, as members of our great and influential profession, be able to look back and feel that our highest duty had been strenuously done, and that our full share in these great achievements had been honestly borne, then am I sure that a proud place would he hold who should stand here, as I stand to-day sadly conscious of our dereliction, to address you on the 'Municipal and National Relations of the Medical Profession.'"[1]

Dr. Pepper's last Report as Provost was published after his resignation.[2]

"It is the rapidity, growth, and expansion of the University and the successful accomplishment of various comprehensive measures,"

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[1] National and Municipal Relations of the Medical Profession, by Professor William Pepper, Philadelphia, Pa., read before the Cleveland Medical Society, June 22, 1894. Cleveland, Ohio: Reprinted from the *Cleveland Medical Gazette*, August, 1894. 11 pp.

[2] Report of the Provost of the University of Pennsylvania from October, 1892, to June, 1894. Philadelphia: Printed for the University, 1894. 212 pp.

said he, and he referred more particularly to his statement of them in his letter of resignation of April 23, "which have made me feel justified in withdrawing from a post of so much usefulness. It has been a subject of frequent comment and of occasional criticism that the creation of new departments and the establishment of new chairs have been at a rapid rate during the past thirteen years. This expansion, however, proceeded upon a definite plan by which several loosely associated schools have been gradually approximated and ultimately combined, with additional departments of recent creation, in harmonious and equitable co-operation. It has been clearly pointed out by Professor Thorpe, in the important memorial volume recently published by the national government, that this new development is the legitimate outcome of the broad basis originally secured for the University by the philosophical Franklin. Historical research (certainly verified by a committee appointed by your Board) shows that the foundation of the University of Pennsylvania is to be referred to the year 1740, thus making it the fourth in point of age among the educational institutions of this country. From its earliest days it has been honorably distinguished by the origination of important educational measures subsequently adopted by sister institutions. It seems natural, therefore, to find that the title of University was first used in America in 1779, in connection with this institution. In the form it has reached in recent years it represents, with one serious break in the circle, the rounded and complete form of the typical American University. The organic connection with the public school system of Philadelphia was happily effected in 1888 by the establishment of fifty prize scholarships; the thoroughly re-organized College Department, fully equipped in all branches and surrounded with ample territory for the construction of dormitories and for the cultivation of athletic exercises and sports; the equitable provision for the admission of women to the highest faculty and degree, on the same conditions as men, without involving the necessity of co-education

in the undergraduate classes;[1] the group of professional schools organically connected with the College Department, giving and receiving strength, though each possessing its independent establishment and individuality, its honorable traditions, and its own special line of development; and finally the comprehensive Faculty of Philosophy crowning the entire structure and inviting earnest students to advanced work and original investigation—these are the large features of an academic plan, the development of which may confidently be entrusted to the future."

The obvious point of incompleteness to which he referred was the absence of dormitories. He had taken frequent opportunities throughout his administration to urge the absolute necessity of dormitory life as an element in a complete University, and he now had the satisfaction of knowing that this necessity was clearly recognized by the Board and by the Faculty. It was not his plan that students should be required to live in the dormitories, but rather that the buildings should be made so attractive that they would prefer a home in them to one in any boarding-house within their reach. It was his opinion that the absence of dormitories diverted students from the University. Now that there was ample space for suitable buildings, he was convinced that the financial arrangements for their erection would be found easy, since in Philadelphia, as elsewhere, the funds so invested would be found permanently productive.

"Just as the University needs the great libraries and museums and the costly equipment of special laboratories to foster advanced study and research, just as it needs the aid of University Extension

[1] The resolution of the Board, taken in 1891, opening the Department of Philosophy to women, inaugurated a policy which has been followed by other leading institutions.

and of other allies by which the mass of the community may be reached so that the University shall do its share in developing civic character, so does the College Department demand a well-organized dormitory system where judicious influence shall work for the development of individual character. After the dormitories will naturally follow the Central Dining Hall; the Students' Hall for social intercourse and the numerous agencies for the daily life of a great body of students;[1] the general Gymnasium in connection with Franklin Field and the University Chapel. The proximity of the University to the fine auditorium of the Academy of Music seems to postpone to a more remote date the construction of a large hall for Commencement Exercises and other public functions."

He believed that the prosperity of the integral departments of the University already organized indicated clearly that it had entered upon a career of growth, the future extent of which would be practically unlimited. He earnestly desired that the Graduate Department for women might speedily be followed by the adequate endowment of a college for women similar to Barnard at Columbia and Radcliffe at Harvard. He believed that the time was at hand in America when the leading universities would be associated and develop a system more or less resembling the type presented by Oxford and Cambridge.

"Our University system," said he, "is exhibiting so much flexibility and strength and the broad university idea is becoming so firmly fixed that no retrograde tendency need be feared from the admission to the University system of separate colleges, with independent tutorial or even professional staff. The immense aggregations of young students in the undergraduate classes of a great University seem to call for more definite organization and supervision

[1] Realized shortly after in the erection of Houston Hall.

than is apparently to be expected from the present academic and dormitory system. The large power retained by the governing board of an American University—as notably at Pennsylvania; the high disciplinary authority entrusted to the Deans; the rigid educational standard sure to be maintained by the Faculty of Philosophy and the University Council, would seem to minimize or wholly to obviate in America the dangers which have called for such extensive reforms at the English universities. It is evident that the appearance of this comprehensive policy and spirit of administration will be the strongest possible inducement to generously disposed persons to attach their foundations to old and vigorous institutions, instead of calling into existence new establishments whose installation is prodigiously expensive and whose destiny is uncertain even when hedged in with the shrewdest legal provisions."

It was with special satisfaction, therefore, that he mentioned the completion and formal opening, on May 21, 1894, of the Wistar Institute of Anatomy and Biology as the crowning addition to the opportunities of the University made during his administration.

The establishment of the institution marked an important step forward towards the concentration and co-operation of scientific work and workers in Philadelphia. For many years Dr. Pepper had been laboring to this end. He saw with pain the waste of money and lives in the multiplication—indeed, the duplication—of museums in the city. He wished to bring the scientific institutions of Philadelphia into affiliation, and, if possible, into contiguity near the University of Pennsylvania. Their co-ordination would reduce their expenses and increase their effectiveness. The Academy of Natural Sciences declined the invitation of the University thus to affiliate with it, much to the regret of many of the friends of both institutions. Dr. Pepper's plan did not involve a merger

of endowment funds or a surrender of the individuality of the several affiliated institutions. Each should go on in its chosen work, but should avoid duplication of labor. Persons familiar with the conservatism of Philadelphia will appreciate the difficulty of executing such a plan as this. It is easy to found organizations in Philadelphia; it is difficult to put an end to them.

The Wistar Institute, owing to the munificence and philosophical insight of its founder, General Isaac J. Wistar, was an ideal consummation of such a plan as Dr. Pepper had long been meditating. The institute is independent of the University, though affiliated with it. It has its own endowment, its own building, its own Board of Trustees, and in no possible way can its funds be appropriated for any other purpose than that to which its founder has devoted them. The strong personal friendship between General Wistar and Dr. Pepper emphasized the influence of the undertaking. The two men were bound to each other by ties of affection, and each found in the other a supporter of large philosophical ideas. It was not strange, therefore, that Dr. Pepper should consider General Wistar's foundation as a crowning triumph at the close of his Provostship. The beautiful altruism in the foundation might escape the general reader were he not informed that the institute, though established in honor of the eminent Dr. Caspar Wistar, was founded by the grandson of Dr. Wistar's brother as a monument, not of personal pride or achievement, but to a man greatly honored in the Commonwealth and synonymous with the progress of medical and surgical science in America during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

It would be easy to enlarge upon the growth of the University during the thirteen years of Dr. Pepper's Provostship. Enough has been said, however, to indicate the scope

and character of the work which he accomplished. It was great in whatever aspect considered,—whether tested by the extension and increase in the number of courses, by the acquisition of land and the erection of buildings, by the increase in the number of students and of the Faculty, or by the unification of the University, its correlation with the school systems of Pennsylvania and the adjoining commonwealths, and its elevation to the front rank among the great schools of the country. All these things were done against great odds, of which the greatest was poverty. Throughout his career in the University Dr. Pepper was compelled to pursue a hand-to-mouth policy because of the financial weakness of the institution of which he was head. He was building for the future; he was boldly anticipating the co-operation of posterity. Except where endowments were obtained (and he secured many munificent ones) the current maintenance of the institution depended almost entirely upon his personal efforts. When he succeeded to the Provostship the annual expenses of the University scarcely reached three hundred thousand dollars; when he resigned it they had attained wellnigh the million-dollar mark. He firmly believed that the University if once organized on broad and deep foundations would receive the generous support of the public. It is easier to awaken and sustain public interest in a great enterprise than in a small one; therefore, his first labor was to extend the lines of the University in all directions. In doing this he was compelled often to assume great financial obligations himself. This he did as no other educator in our country has ever done. The more peremptory became the demands of the great school under his care, the more actively he gave himself to the practice of his profession. Thus he earned great sums which he expended for the welfare of the

University. Contributing generously himself, he was able to influence others to contribute, and thus to secure the means for carrying out his academic plans. He was a delightful man to be associated with in University work. He was incapable of a mean act, and was never known to be swayed from justice by the animosities which break out even in academic circles. No member of the Faculty ever suffered, as long as he was Provost, from the petty jealousies and passions of a colleague.

He was fortunate in his associates, who, in so far as their own several departments were concerned, fully possessed his confidence. In the College Department he was ably assisted by Dr. Horace Jayne, who, in 1889, became Dean of the College Faculty. Since 1884 he had been a member of the Faculty as head of the Biological Department, which may fairly be said to have been organized through his efforts. Before he took charge of its interests there had been merely a course of lectures by Professor Parker and Dr. Rothrock. Dr. W. P. Wilson and Dr. Ryder were now brought to the University. Not only did Dr. Jayne guarantee the salary of Dr. Ryder, but he also contributed fifteen thousand dollars to the Biological Building and its equipment. These gifts were afterwards more than doubled.

Being a man of means when, in 1889, he accepted the office of Dean of the College Faculty, Dr. Jayne generously returned the salary attached to the position, and thereafter freely gave his services. The Dean's duties before that time were extremely limited. For him and by him the usefulness of the office was enlarged into a practical supervision of all departments. It was at his suggestion that courses in the technical schools were begun in the freshman year. Working in close harmony with the Provost, courses for teachers

were established, a laboratory course in physics was added, and the Faculty of Philosophy was organized. Dr. Jayne caused a restaurant to be opened for the convenience of the students and professors, and succeeded not only in regulating the athletics, but in controlling the cane-rushes, bowl-fights, etc., and in establishing a wholesome restraint upon the students with a view to raising the tone of the college. Credit is also due to him for so arranging the hours for all classes that in the middle of the day every student at the same hour enjoyed a recess,—a feat in the accomplishment of which he persevered in spite of much discouragement and predicted failure.

In working out the necessary reforms Dr. Jayne's natural tact, ability, and calm judgment were of constant, nay, inestimable value to Dr. Pepper, who was wont to say that no university in the country possessed a dean equal to Dr. Jayne. The two men became close friends, and in dealing with the multiple and important interests of which they had accepted the responsibility they always remained loyal allies.

Dr. Pepper was fond of men of helpful ideas,—practical people who could advance the cause in hand. The youngest man in the University, if he had useful ideas, was welcomed as a coadjutor. His profound knowledge of human nature enabled him to escape many of the pitfalls in the way of the ordinary college president. A member of the Faculty who could contribute ideas was as dear to him as one who could make a handsome subscription. He was fond of young men, and was accused of feeding them on promises. The fact was that the impoverished state of the University forbade adequate salaries. He himself always lived on expectation of plenty, and many a devoted man in the Faculty was quite satisfied to live with him in the same joyous hope. If, however, funds

were secured, he was the first to apply them in a large reward for services rendered.

In the annals of the University his administration will always stand forth as pre-eminent. His predecessor, Dr. Stillé, toiled faithfully but hopelessly. The great idea which animated him was destined to be taken up by his successor and be by him elaborated and applied. He transformed the institution left by Dr. Stillé into a University; not a complete or perfect school, but a more complete and a more perfect one than could have been realized, it is believed, under any other man of his generation. Until he became Provost, the University was thought of, when thought of at all outside of Philadelphia, merely as a medical school. Its excellent classic opportunities were quite obscure. Like other schools dating back to colonial times, it had accumulated a body of traditions which were rudely shaken by the changes which followed the Civil War. Any one who will turn to the catalogues of the four oldest American universities will discover that each underwent a process of reorganization after 1865. An opportunity like Dr. Pepper's at Pennsylvania existed, in its general aspect, at every university centre in this country. He entered upon the Provostship shortly after the Centennial Exposition, one of the high-water marks of industrial change in our country. Departments of applied science, history, and political economy were soon found to be essential to the existence of any university, and in providing for them he did no more than to respond to the demands of the times. But nevertheless this was a great thing to do,—the thing to do, as time has proved. He brought the ancient school, to the head of which he was called, into close touch with the people of his time. This constituted the greatness of his work in the University of Pennsylvania.

Part III

THE CITIZEN

I

THE FREE LIBRARY OF PHILADELPHIA

1889–1898

DURING the last ten years of his life Dr. Pepper was closely identified with several public movements more or less distinct from the University. The chief of these were the Free Library and the Museums, his relations to which will now be narrated.

While yet his uncle, Mr. George S. Pepper,[1] was living, Dr. Pepper had been assiduous in his efforts to establish a Free Library in Philadelphia. The two men discussed the question in all its aspects, and the elder finally decided to bequeath a portion of his estate for the support of such an organization, and did so with the understanding that the library should not form part of any institution then existing in the city. He believed that if it was to achieve the end he had in view, it must be a new organization. At this time the library facilities of the city were far behind those of other cities of equal population in America, and indeed behind many of smaller population. Philadelphia had many libraries, it is true, but they were close corporations, and the time seemed ripe to depart from the limitations of the past and to inaugurate a great reform. Until the close of 1890 there was no law on the statute books of the State which exactly met the requirements of such a case as was now contemplated. The Act of 1887 authorized the formation of library com-

[1] See page 22.

panies in incorporated towns, and empowered them to utilize for library purposes "all taxes on dogs levied and collected under existing laws for borough purposes" within the Commonwealth. But even this provision was conditional upon the maintenance of a free reading-room for the use of all the inhabitants of the borough.[1] This law also empowered any city in the State to receive donations of property and books for library purposes; but the act proved a dead letter. Mr. Pepper's will, drawn in 1889, gave to the trustees of such free library as might be established in the city of Philadelphia, east of the Schuylkill River and south of Market Street, the sum of one hundred and fifty thousand dollars, together with a claim upon the residue of his estate. Ultimately the entire amount somewhat exceeded two hundred and twenty-five thousand dollars.

While the death of his uncle was yet hourly expected, Dr. Pepper took the initiative to secure the results which he believed were intended under the will. He summoned a few representative men, and with them formed a plan of action of which the initial step was to apply for a charter for a free library. This was granted by President Judge M. Russell Thayer on the 18th of February, 1891. The corporation was to be known as The Free Library of Philadelphia. Its purpose was to establish and maintain a general library in Philadelphia, free to all its inhabitants. The interpretation thus put upon Mr. Pepper's will was not accepted as a final settlement by all parties interested, and several existing libraries claimed that they were beneficiaries under the will. Thus the hands of the chartered trustees were promptly tied until the dispute could be decided by the courts. Dr. Pepper

[1] Act of May 23, 1887.

knew very well that his uncle's purpose was not to benefit any existing institution, but he also knew that the legacy was utterly inadequate to establish a free library. He believed that the testator had intended rather that his legacy should stimulate others to efforts and benefactions, and thus become the nucleus for a great endowment.

While the construction of the will was being passed upon by the courts, Dr. Pepper and his friends decided that the best plan for them to pursue would be to start a free library system and demonstrate its educational value to the community. Several influential citizens were consulted, among them the Mayor of the City, Honorable Edwin S. Stuart, and the President of the Select Council, James R. Gates, Esq., with the result that an ordinance was approved by the Mayor, December 21, 1891, appropriating the sum of fifteen thousand dollars to the Board of Education for the ensuing year for the purpose of establishing and maintaining public libraries and reading-rooms in the city.

The Board of Education selected a committee from its own body to look after the work, and the Board of Trustees of the Wagner Free Institute of Science placed at the disposal of this committee a considerable portion of the ground floor of the Institute Building at Seventeenth Street and Montgomery Avenue. The Actuary of the Institute, Mr. Thomas L. Montgomery, generously undertook the position of librarian of the branch, and largely through his advice it was decided to open it according to the latest and most approved system of library management. The result was that it began as Branch No. 1 of the Free Library, and was opened as a free institution for the residents of the city. A most liberal policy was adopted. It was decided that readers should be allowed the freest possible access to the shelves, in

pursuance of a plan which, tried in many American cities and in several of those of England, had proved successful and economical and at the same time most popular and satisfactory to the public. This branch, now known as the Wagner Institute Branch, was opened to the public October 18, 1892, and the success of the Free Library movement in Philadelphia was promptly assured. For the year 1893 Councils appropriated twenty-five thousand dollars to the Board of Education for the continuance and development of the work, and a second branch of the system was opened on April 11 of that year, in a part of the premises belonging to the South Branch of the Young Mens' Christian Association, on the northwest corner of Broad and Federal Streets, and known as the Broad and Federal Branch.

The successful operation of the plan, thus far, keenly interested Dr. Pepper, who had watched it with apprehension; but he was now persuaded that the free-shelf system and the lightest rules which could be adopted with reasonable protection to the property of the library were the best means of making it valuable to the largest number at the least cost. About this time, early in 1894, litigation over the Pepper will came to an end. The courts held that according to the meaning of the will a new library was to be established, and thereupon the charter directors proceeded to carry out the task entrusted to them. The total amount available at this time was only about ten thousand dollars a year, and it became a serious matter how best to accomplish the purpose of the foundation. As a step in the right direction, application was made to the city authorities for a temporary accommodation for the Free Library in the City Hall. The Public Buildings Commission cheerfully complied with the request, and finally three rooms on the ground floor of the City Hall were

assigned as a temporary home for the library. Gifts of books were made by members of the Board and came from other quarters. New books were purchased in liberal quantities, and on the 12th of March, 1894, the present Free Library was thrown open to the public.

In aid of the work, Councils in that year appropriated twenty-five thousand dollars, to be expended by the Committee on Library, consisting of members of the Board of Education, and five thousand dollars additional to the Board of Directors of the Free Library of Philadelphia in furtherance of the movement. It will be seen that the affair thus far was a joint concern, with two distinct managing boards. On the 2d of April and on the 21st of May, 1894, the Board of Education appointed new branches; one, at Ridge and Lyceum Avenues, known as the Roxborough Branch; the other known as the Frankford Avenue Branch. Towards the close of the year the city, finding that it had need of the rooms used by the Free Library in the City Hall, gave notice that they must be vacated, and the Directors were forced to make hasty and immediate arrangements for a removal.

At this time it came to the knowledge of one of the Trustees of the Library, Mr. Samuel Wagner, that the old Concert Hall at 1217–1221 Chestnut Street could be rented for library purposes. The location was ideal, but the building was unsatisfactory, on account of its contiguity to a theatre and the limited accommodation it afforded. Dr. Pepper urged that the library be located in a permanent building as soon as possible. Several suitable sites were considered, and Dr. Pepper did all that was possible to obtain reasonable offers for them; but in one and all obstacles arose, so that acquisition was impossible. He was in constant consultation with leading members of the Board, with the late President of the

Pennsylvania Railroad, Mr. George B. Roberts, and with others, who together did all that was possible to bring matters to a successful issue. Finally, it was decided that the Concert Hall be fitted for temporary occupation. At the time it was an unused theatre, and the stage had to be removed, the ceiling completed, a staircase erected, and many alterations undertaken. Moreover, possession of some of the rooms on the ground floor could not be obtained, though they were urgently needed. It would be some time before the lease would expire.

Public interest in the library reacted upon Councils and gradually won doubtful members to a willingness to give public support to the new project. Its promoters were not surprised by the interest awakened. The success of the system thus far, and the extraordinary interest which the public had taken in it, persuaded Dr. Pepper that it was time to change the management, and that it was unadvisable, if not impossible, to continue the control of so rapidly growing a system under a corporation originally established to carry out the designs of one individual benefactor. The matter was brought before the city authorities, and finally, December 31, 1894, the Mayor approved an ordinance, which, based on the Act of Assembly of 1887, accepted from the Directors of the Free Library their collection of books, amounting to fifteen thousand volumes, with a view to establishing a free library within the limits of the city, according to the scope and meaning of the law of 1887. On the same day, by a second ordinance, Councils constituted and appointed twenty-three persons as a Board of Trustees, to be known as "The Trustees of the Free Library of Philadelphia," and delegated in trust to this Board the volumes which the Directors of the Free Library of Philadelphia, established under the charter

of 1891, had just presented to the city. Thus the library forces were co-ordinated and centralized.

The development of the library during the year 1895 was measured in part by the opening of two branches by the Committee on Library of the Board of Education, one on May 28, the West Philadelphia Branch; the other on October 15, called the Germantown Branch. In March, 1894, the Free Library was opened to the public in its new quarters on Chestnut Street, the old Concert Hall; and on October 1, 1894, the College Settlement Branch, at 500 South Seventh Street. On October 30, 1895, the Evening Home Branch was opened on South Van Pelt Street.

By this time the conclusion was reached that better legislation was needed for the management of the free libraries, and it was decided to send the Librarian to Harrisburg to promote the passage of a suitable act. The person who had been chosen Librarian was Mr. John Thomson,[1] who had been associated with the library from its commencement, and whose knowledge of books and of the management of libraries was widely known. Mr. Thomson's mission was highly successful, and the general library act of June, 1895, by which cities of the first class in Pennsylvania were authorized to levy a tax and to make appropriations for the establishment and maintenance of free libraries, was the result. The act empowers Councils to levy a tax annually, not exceeding

[1] To aid me in the preparation of this chapter, Mr. John Thomson wrote a brief history of the Free Library movement, which I have freely utilized, and without which the chapter could not have been prepared. Mr. Thomson was Dr. Pepper's choice as Librarian. The two men discovered in each other qualities which make the basis for strong friendships.

two mills on the dollar, on all taxable property, to be known as the library fund.

For the year 1895 Councils appropriated twenty-five thousand dollars to the Board of Trustees and forty-nine thousand dollars to the committee of the Board of Education. The new law was fully utilized.

The Councils also directed that the library appropriation should henceforth be made exclusively to the Board of Trustees of the Free Library, and that from and after the 1st of January, 1896, the main library and all its branches should be placed under the control of the Trustees of the Free Library of Philadelphia; and to this Board, for the year 1896, Councils appropriated the sum of ninety thousand dollars.

The details of the labor which brought about such results within the short period of five years cannot well be told. Only those who have had experience can appreciate the difficulty of obtaining appropriations for new public interests from the City Councils of Philadelphia. Public institutions already established and depending upon the city for their support seemed to demand all that could be secured. But in the face of almost certain failure for an ordinary man, Dr. Pepper had entered the lists, and through his unparalleled powers of co-ordination and concentration brought such influence and pressure to bear upon City Councils as to secure the results named thus far.

On the 26th of October, 1896, he made his first report as President of the Board of Trustees of the Free Library, to the Mayor and Councils of the city.

The Free Library, said he, belongs to the citizens. It is now an inalienable part of their civic rights; it is already recognized as an invaluable privilege. It is proper that the means of maintenance

and development should be provided by the city. By the specific act of the legislature the authority is given to make appropriations and to order a special tax levied for the purposes of the Free Library. He was able to announce that for the year ending September 30 the circulation of books had been 1,293,004 volumes, and that at one of the branches, the Wagner Free Institute, it had reached the remarkable figure of 266,890 volumes. He urged that ten additional branch libraries be established at a cost not exceeding two hundred thousand dollars. A suitable central library building was called for,—strictly fire-proof in construction, with ample space for a great store of books and with commodious accommodation for the numerous readers and for the large number who came daily to obtain and return books. Already numerous and most valuable donations to the Library had been made, and it had been decided that the week in which Franklin's birthday falls, January 17, should be regarded as donation week.[1]

It was at this time that the Loan Bill question came up, and Dr. Pepper labored unceasingly and, as events proved, successfully to procure for the Free Library a portion of the eleven million dollars voted by the people. He labored far beyond his strength. Day by day he had interviews with every person of influence within his reach, and though his health was hopelessly broken and he was in danger of physical collapse at any moment, his industry knew no abatement. Finally the sum of one million dollars was authorized to be raised on loan, of which eight hundred thousand dollars were to be applied for the purchase of a site and the erection of a central building, and two hundred thousand dollars for the erection of branch buildings and the purchase of sites. If once the library could be placed in a suitable building, he

[1] First Annual Report of the Free Library of Philadelphia, October, 1896, pp. 1–6.

believed that it would receive the generous support of the public, and he looked upon the action of Councils in inserting the library item in the Loan Bill as a well-merited approval of the economical administration of the library thus far.

He was much gratified, early in 1897, when other important buildings belonging to the city were placed at the disposal of the Board for library purposes. One of these was the colonial mansion in Vernon Park, in Germantown; and it was given with only one limitation, that the ancient front and the beautiful mantels in the interior should be preserved, conditions with which all who are familiar with their frequent reproductions in work of colonial architecture will sympathize. About this time the Christian Hall Library at Chestnut Hill affiliated with the Free Library. That the utility of the Free Library system appealed to men identified with large practical affairs was illustrated in Nicetown, a manufacturing district, in which the sum of one thousand one hundred and fifty dollars was donated to be applied in fitting up a Branch. The building utilized had at one time been used as a saloon and dancing-room. The whole structure was renovated, and, on the 23d of September, opened to the public. On this occasion Dr. Pepper attended and delivered an effective address on the best methods to be used in libraries and the way in which the public could best secure the largest results from the access afforded to the books.

For the year 1896 Councils appropriated one hundred and ten thousand dollars for the maintenance of the library. An ancient residence, known as Webster Mansion, standing on a piece of ground belonging to the city, dedicated to the public under the name of McPherson Park, was fitted up as the McPherson Branch, and was thrown open to the public, July 5, 1898.

Very unexpectedly to the Board of Trustees and to the public, an announcement was made in the early part of 1898, at a social meeting called by Mr. P. A. B. Widener, at his residence, Broad Street and Girard Avenue. On this occasion Dr. Pepper, the President of the Free Library, stated that he had been authorized by Mr. P. A. B. Widener to make an important announcement which concerned vitally the interests of the city. He felt that this announcement was doubly important coming at this particular time. The public had been to some extent prepared for it. But the splendid proportions and wise provisions of the benefaction justified a more formal statement.

Dr. Pepper said it had been his privilege to know the late Mrs. Widener, and to have been made acquainted with the earnest desire which she and Mr. Widener felt to aid in the great work of elevating and rendering more happy the members, and more especially the younger members, of the community. Careful consideration had been given to the relative advantages of founding various institutions. Before the death of Mrs. Widener it had been resolved that, upon the whole, the largest and highest good would result from uniting in the work of developing a great system to include a Free Art Gallery, Free Museums, and a Free Library.

No more remarkable record, he added, had ever been made by a public institution than was shown by the Free Library of Philadelphia. In four short years it had leaped to the front in the extent of its circulation and in the place it has secured in regard and approval of the community. The remarkable success of this institution was clearly due to these influences: strict economy had been practised, so that the largest results had been attained with moderate expenditure; the shelves of the library were open freely to all citi-

zens, who thus realized that it was truly their library,—the Free Library of the people; the policy of establishing branches in many sections of the city had been vigorously pursued, so that already thirteen were in operation. In the great work of organizing the educational forces of this community the Free Art Gallery, the Free Museums, and the Free Library were preparing to supplement and carry on in every portion of the community the work of the common schools, the High School, and the University. It cannot be wondered, therefore, that when the decision of the people was sought at the election as to the wisdom of increasing the municipal indebtedness it was found that a powerful influence in determining the large majority which was given for this wise patriotic measure was the fact that through its provisions Philadelphia would soon acquire the essential advantages of these three great free institutions.

But valuable as would be the operations of the intrinsic provisions of the Loan Bill, when the items for these institutions had been enacted by City Councils and the funds provided had been rendered available, it was evident that the city was to be the gainer in the immediate future to a vastly greater extent. Mr. Peter A. B. Widener had authorized Dr. Pepper to announce that he had decided, with the cordial concurrence of the members of his family, that no more worthy and fitting memorial of his dearly beloved wife could be created than by the presentation of his splendid mansion to the Free Library of Philadelphia, to be held in trust forever and administered as an integral part of the Free Library system, under the name of the "H. Josephine Widener Memorial Branch."

The H. Josephine Widener Memorial Branch must always occupy a commanding position in the Free Library system

of Philadelphia. Countless thousands will benefit by the advantages it will offer. But the announcement which Dr. Pepper was delighted to be able to make emphasized still more strongly the necessity for prompt action in securing a suitable fire-proof central building where could be housed safely the great stores of books from which the numerous branches of the Free Library system were to be kept supplied.

Certainly, if any argument were needed to prove the wisdom and benefits of the Loan Bill, it was this splendid first fruit of the awakened public spirit and enterprise which was thus so powerfully promoted.

"When we reflect," said Dr. Pepper, "upon the enormous practical advantages which will accrue to the city from the Commercial Museums and the Exposition of 1898; when we consider the almost priceless treasures which the city will receive if the Art Gallery is constructed, and that to insure this there should be passed without delay the corresponding item; when we consider finally the necessity, rendered still more imperative by the announcement made here to-night, that the city shall go forward in the establishment of her Free Library system, and that for this purpose the prompt enactment of the library item is needed, it would seem as though unanswerable arguments were given to City Councils and to the entire community for the most prompt action in these matters."

Dr. Pepper's second report as President was made in January, 1898.[1] There were at this time eleven branches in active operation in different portions of the city, and during the year then closed the total number of books taken out for perusal had reached the enormous aggregate of 1,672,042, an

[1] Second Annual Report of the Free Library of Philadelphia, pp. 5–7.

increase of 321,000 over the preceding year. Speaking of the item of the Free Library in the Loan Bill, he said:

"I believe it may be safely added, moreover, that, while there was at first some fear that the magnitude of this idea might increase opposition at the polls, it is the judgment of all who have made themselves acquainted with the feeling of the community on the subject that the rapidly growing sense of the value and necessity of the fully established Free Library system in Philadelphia was, on the other hand, among the strongest arguments which gave to the Loan Bill its handsome majority."

This was the last report which Dr. Pepper made, and fitly concluded a life expended for the welfare of the public.

His work in the interest of the library was now rapidly drawing to a close, for his health was hopelessly broken, but he continued his untiring efforts on behalf of the library to the end and inspired those who were working with him with much of the enthusiasm and industry which he at all times had displayed. The progress of the library since his death has emphasized the wisdom of the broad lines upon which he and his co-laborers insisted it should be inaugurated. The pleasure with which he announced Mr. Widener's gift of the magnificent mansion in which they were then assembled would have been enhanced could he have lived to see the unique collection of incunabula placed in the H. Josephine Widener Memorial Branch by its generous giver.

When the Free Library was first started Mr. Thomson and one young assistant composed the staff in City Hall; in the short space of eight years (1890–1898) that staff increased to one hundred and sixty persons, who administered a vast library system, consisting of the Free Library and fourteen branches, and conducted departments for the blind and for

children. It cannot be said that the Free Library would never have existed had it not been for Dr. Pepper, but it is not too much to say that without his aid it could not have assumed the important position which it won in less than ten years. During that brief time it accumulated a collection of upward of two hundred and twenty-five thousand volumes, including works consulted by students of every profession in life. During this time the inhabitants of Philadelphia were bountifully supplied with books for perusal at home.

The number of volumes given out soon surpassed that recorded for any other library in the world, in 1898 reaching the enormous total of 1,778,387 volumes, an average of nine readers for every volume in the library. Throughout Dr. Pepper's presidency the relations between the Trustees and all connected with the library were of the most cordial and agreeable kind, nor have these changed since his death. His successor to the presidency, Mr. William J. Latta, in 1898, was one of his warm admirers and supporters through life, and brought to the work he laid down the same spirit which he manifested towards it. The time doubtless will come when the city of Philadelphia will erect a large and handsome building for the work of the library, suited to its growth for many years. When we reflect that the years which Dr. Pepper gave to the Free Library movement were years of intense physical suffering, and that all that he did was done consciously under the shadow of death, the altruistic service seems finer and the record more extraordinary. If we measure men by the character of the work into which they throw their souls, even amidst their dying days, we find here an example of patient, brave, and lofty devotion to the general welfare rarely paralleled in the affairs of men.

"One of the municipal institutions in which we can feel not only satisfaction, but pride," observed the *Philadelphia Times*, in an editorial, April 13, 1900, nearly two years after Dr. Pepper's death, "is the Free Library. This was because it was started at the right time and in the right way and was entrusted to the right hands. If Dr. Pepper had done nothing else for the city, his name must still have been held in grateful memory for having given the final impetus and definite direction to this great enterprise, which has gone on growing and expanding and prospering, because of the efficient organization given to it which secures it in intelligent and expert control while sharing the general interest of the whole community."

II

UNIVERSITY EXTENSION

1889–1898

LATE in the fall of 1889 a meeting was held, one afternoon, in the Guild Room at the Baldwin Locomotive Works. Dr. Pepper had been invited to speak on the subject of University Extension, which until then had been scarcely heard of in Philadelphia. Mr. George Burnham, Jr., the president of the guild, had, with others, long been laboring through its instrumentalities to elevate a portion of the community, and "the gospel of extension," which Dr. Pepper now so earnestly delivered, seemed to open up a new vista of possible improvement, compared with which the efforts already made appeared aimless and futile. At the conclusion of the address both Mr. Burnham and Mr. Frederick B. Miles[1] took up the theme with great sympathy; a general discussion followed, and the beginning of the University Extension movement in Philadelphia was made.

A few days later Dr. Pepper gave a dinner in the interest of the movement, at which Dr. R. G. Moulton, the eloquent English Extension lecturer, Dr. Horace Jayne, the Dean of the University of Pennsylvania, Mr. James B. Leonard, and others were present. Dr. Moulton explained the workings

[1] I am indebted to Mr. Miles for an authoritative sketch of the University Extension Movement, and to Mr. John Nolen, the secretary, for copies of the publications of the Society.

of Extension in a very attractive way, reciting its history from the time the movement originated in England, in 1867, and its formal adoption by the University of Cambridge four years later. The dinner resulted in the organization of the movement in Philadelphia, though definite plans for it were not adopted until February, 1890, at a meeting held in Dr. Pepper's house. He accepted the presidency of the movement, and Mr. George Henderson was appointed secretary. On the second of June a meeting was held at the Penn Club, which resulted in the formation of a General Committee of forty-six men and women. Dr. Pepper was soon after formally chosen president, Mr. Miles treasurer, and Mr. Henderson secretary, and on the 6th an Executive Committee of ten was appointed.[1] A Finance Committee also was created, the sum of one thousand dollars was contributed for current expenses, an office was opened at 1600 Chestnut Street, and measures were taken to enlarge the membership of the organization.

At Dr. Pepper's suggestion a fund was raised, and the secretary, Mr. Henderson, was sent to Oxford, England, to study the methods of the English Society at its summer meeting, and, if possible, to perfect arrangements for bringing over to this country several English lecturers, who should deliver courses during the winter months. Acting upon Mr. Henderson's report, the American Society invited Mr. Michael E. Sadler, secretary of the Oxford Society, to deliver courses of

[1] Mr. George Burnham, Jr., Mr. Walter C. Douglass, Miss Virginia E. Graeff, Mr. Charles C. Harrison, Miss Mary D. McMurtrie, Rev. John A. MacIntosh, Mr. Sydney C. Skidmore, Mr. Samuel Wagner, Mr. Joseph G. Rosengarten, and Rev. Charles Wood.

lectures on Sociology in Philadelphia during the winter of 1891–92.

A public meeting was called in Association Hall, Fifteenth and Chestnut Streets, November 19, 1890, for the purpose of increasing the membership of the Society and of acquainting the public with the aims and objects of the new movement. About twelve hundred persons were present, chiefly of the class interested in culture and progress. Dr. Pepper presided. Among the notable speeches on this occasion were those by him, by the president of Princeton University, and by Dr. Moulton, who at that time was about to inaugurate in Philadelphia his first lectures on literature. The effect of Dr. Moulton's speech was immediate. Many joined the Society, and its purpose was more widely and correctly understood.

The University Lecture Association, which Dr. Pepper had inaugurated, an account of which has already been given, had prepared the way for the institution of the University Extension movement. Finally, in 1895, the Lecture Association became merged in the University Extension Society.

The work of the University Extension Society may be said to have begun in November, 1890, with a course of lectures on Chemistry, by Dr. C. Handford Henderson, followed by one on Astronomy, by Professor Young, of Princeton, and by another on Shakespeare, by Dr. Moulton. Mr. Sadler delivered a course the following year.

In April, 1891, Dr. Pepper retired from the presidency, remaining, however, honorary president, and was succeeded by Professor Edmund J. James, of the University of Pennsylvania. Until this time the whole work of organizing the Society upon a permanent basis, of identifying its interests

with those of the community, of securing information from the parent Society in England, of selecting lecturers, issuing Extension literature, and in general of directing all the details of the movement, had been carried on by Dr. Pepper. The appointment of Professor James to the presidency was made in order to relieve Dr. Pepper, and at the same time to secure the services of an eminent educator. Though retired from active participation in the work of the Society, Dr. Pepper continued to attend its principal meetings and to assist the president and secretary with advice and counsel.

In March, 1892, the Society was incorporated, and its name changed from "The Philadelphia Society for the Extension of University Teaching," to the more appropriate title "The American Society for the Extension of University Teaching."[1] From this time forward the work of the Society was carried on regularly and progressively.

In March and April, 1892, Mr. H. J. MacKinder, a distinguished lecturer for the Oxford Extension Society in England, came to America and lectured, under the auspices of the American Society, upon "Geography in Relation to Commerce." In 1893 the Rev. W. Hudson Shaw, also one of the Oxford lecturers, came to America for the first time, and began a series of lectures which were destined to extend over several years. During all this time Dr. Pepper con-

[1] The five original incorporators were Dr. Pepper, Professor James, Mr. Chares E. Bushnell, Mr. Samuel Wagner, and Mr. Joseph G. Rosengarten. On the thirteenth of June they elected ten additional members,—namely, Messrs. George F. Baer, John H. Converse, Charles C. Harrison, Craige Lippincott, Rev. John S. MacIntosh, Frederick B. Miles, Justus C. Strawbridge, Charlemagne Tower, Stuart Wood, and the Rev. Charles Wood.

tinued actively interested in the work of the Society, and was its leader and guide until January, 1895, when, convinced that it was able to develop further without his immediate attention, he determined to resign the office of honorary president. He continued his subscription to the support of the work. In his letter of resignation he urged upon the Society the election of Mr. Charles C. Harrison as his successor. Several interesting details are brought out in the following correspondence:

"PHILADELPHIA, January 3, 1895.

"DEAR DR. PEPPER:

"I have your letter of to-day, and thank you for informing me of your decision in reference to the honorary presidency of the American Society.

"It must be highly gratifying to you to have succeeded in inaugurating a free library system in Philadelphia, an undertaking in which so many have failed. It cannot be forgotten, either, that you were the father of the University Extension Society, which, as far as I can judge, has attained a greater measure of success than any similar venture in this country.

"Your suggestion should certainly have the most respectful consideration of our Board of Directors. I shall be most happy to see Mr. Harrison as honorary president, if it is agreeable to him to serve.

"Personally, I very much appreciate your willingness to continue upon our Board and your continued interest in the Society.

"Very truly yours,

"CHARLES A. BRINLEY."[1]

"PHILADELPHIA, February 16, 1895.

"DR. WILLIAM PEPPER:

"DEAR SIR,—At a recent meeting of the Board of Managers of the American Society for the Extension of University Teaching, your letter, in which you offer your resignation as honorary presi-

[1] MS.

dent of the Society, was read to the Board by the president. The motives for your action, as stated in the letter, were respectfully considered by the Board, and it has voted to defer to your wishes by accepting your resignation.

"We were appointed a committee to communicate to you the action of the Board and to express for the Directors their high appreciation of your services to the Society, which owes its inception to your public spirit and its establishment as an important educational agency to you and the associates whom you have gathered around you. On behalf of the Directors, we wish to say further that it is most gratifying to them to know that you will still serve upon the Board.

"We are, with much respect,

"Very truly yours,

"EUGENE DELANO,

"CHARLES A. BRINLEY."[1]

The civic interests at stake at this time—namely, the establishment of the Free Library, of the Philadelphia Museum, and of the Museum of Archæology, the securing of an adequate supply of pure water for the city, and the extension of the work of the University, to all of which objects Dr. Pepper was deeply devoted—made exhaustive drafts upon his time and strength, and he decided to withdraw from most of the offices and directory positions which he held, in order to concentrate his energies upon these large municipal interests. It was at this time that he withdrew from the Board of Directors of the Society for University Extension.

Professor James continued president of the Society until November, 1895, when, on account of his election as

[1] MS.

Director of Extension work at the University of Chicago, he resigned. In the following May he was succeeded by Mr. Charles A. Brinley, who had acted meanwhile as president *pro tem.* Mr. John Nolen, an alumnus of the University, was elected secretary.

In its earlier efforts the Society made the mistakes which new enterprises usually find it impossible to avoid. However, it learned by experience, its purposes were noble, its friends were devoted to the public welfare, and its methods and practice soon proved their altruistic character. At first the Society had to depend entirely for its supply of lecturers upon the University of Pennsylvania and neighboring educational institutions, but as the years passed it was enabled to secure its own staff of lecturers.

There was a time in its history when some very well-meaning American schools and colleges were decidedly hostile to the movement. They seemed to think that University Extension was intended to supplant them in the good graces of the public and to substitute other instruction for that which they were prepared to impart. Happily, this misunderstanding of the scope and purpose of the movement was corrected in a few years, and the schools learned that wherever University Extension was best supported there were to be found the homes of college men, or of people who were planning to send their sons and daughters to higher institutions of learning.

During Dr. Pepper's lifetime the American Society ministered to the public in one thousand seven hundred and fourteen courses of lectures, aggregating ten thousand two hundred and eighty-four separate lectures. These were delivered in three hundred and forty-three centres, of which one hundred and four were outside of Pennsylvania,—that is, in New

Jersey, Delaware, Maryland, the District of Columbia, Virginia, West Virginia, Ohio, New York, Connecticut, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, and Maine. The subjects thus brought to the hearing of nearly two millions of people included science, literature, art, history, political economy, and psychology, and were presented by upward of one hundred different lecturers. For each lecture course an appropriate syllabus was used by the Society, which in this way contributed to the systematic study of the subject presented. Many of these syllabi found their way into schools, colleges, and educational societies.

During the critical years of its life University Extension in Philadelphia and vicinity owed its existence and its vitality to the orginizing power of Dr. Pepper. The work of the American Society was carried on and maintained by the generous devotion of a comparatively small group of men and women of Philadelphia and its vicinity, who by their own subscriptions enabled the Society to exist. Many centres were organized which were unable to meet the entire expense of sustaining a course of lectures. In such cases the parent Society has contributed and made the success of the work possible. A most valuable feature developed by the Society was the travelling library, a collection of books bearing directly upon the courses offered, and sent free of charge to the centres which chose these courses. By means of this generous provision small and relatively poor centres were enabled to enjoy the library assistance usually to be had only in large towns.

Beginning as an experiment, University Extension in the short space of ten years proved itself a practical and efficient means of securing and stimulating adult education. Its work was closely analogous to that of the Free Library. It

was a pioneer in the educational field. It was never intended to take the place of university instruction, but to offer to all the means for that education in after life which it is realized is so necessary to keep one's ideals high and vitalizing. As its efforts and successes widened from year to year, it became another monument to the memory of Dr. Pepper, who was the leading mind in establishing it in America.

III

THE PHILADELPHIA MUSEUMS

1893–1898

FROM the time of the inception of the Philadelphia Museums until his last day in the city Dr. Pepper labored unceasingly and most effectively for their welfare. These museums were the culmination of a movement begun at the University in 1893 to secure for an economic museum in Philadelphia a collection of raw products remaining in Chicago at the close of the Columbian Exposition. To this undertaking Dr. Pepper gave his warm support. An appropriation of ten thousand dollars was obtained from the city of Philadelphia through the efforts of Mr. Thomas Meehan. Dr. Pepper immediately entrusted the collecting of material to Professor Wilson, at that time Director of the Department of Biology in the University. Meanwhile the interests of the museum were carefully attended to by Dr. Pepper himself in Philadelphia and Washington. The mayor of Philadelphia, Honorable Edwin Stuart, entered enthusiastically into the movement, as did influential members of Councils. The ministers and ambassadors of foreign countries in Washington were asked for the gift of exhibits at Chicago to the city of Philadelphia, that an economic museum might be organized for the purpose primarily of advancing the interests of trade between foreign countries and our own. Special attention was given to the representatives of the Latin-American republics. As the under-

taking went on, its importance was more clearly recognized. The original plan, merely to secure for the Park Museum a few economic objects left over at Chicago, had in a few months, under the quickening spirit of Dr. Pepper's comprehension of results, developed into a system of museums, educational, commercial, and sociological. From this time, March, 1894, until Dr. Pepper's departure for California, on the seventh of July, 1898, the museums engrossed a large part of his attention.

Professor Wilson met with extraordinary success at Chicago. He secured twenty-four car-loads of material, which he sent to Philadelphia. Such an influx had not been dreamed of, and the museum authorities found their storage resources taxed to the utmost. Mr. Weightman generously gave the use of two large buildings on Market Street,[1] rent free, for two years. The Public Building Commission gave the authorities the temporary use of nineteen rooms in the City Hall, and the Allison Manufacturing Company stored several car-loads of exhibits for a year or more in their shops. At this moment Dr. Pepper took up the question of organization, and gave to the new enterprise the name "The Philadelphia Museums." Its scope was at first meant to include a Museum of Pedagogy as well as of Economic Products. The Park Commission, with the aid of the Board of Education, had controlled the enterprise up to this time, but now it organized with its own officers and assumed a distinct character.

The Japanese exhibit brought from Chicago was arranged and displayed at the School of Design for Women, the German educational exhibit at the Girls' Normal School, and the

[1] 1919–1921 Market Street.

Russian and Liberian at the School of Industrial Art. In the spring of 1894 the Park Commission requested to be relieved from further duty, as did also the Board of Education. Dr. Pepper, after many conferences with public men, secured the enactment, on the 15th of June, 1894, of a city ordinance which created "a board of trustees for establishing a public museum," and placed in its custody the collections already made. Thus, by a single stroke, he transformed a crude enterprise into a city institution,—for by the terms of the ordinance the Museum Board consisted, *ex officio*, of the mayor of the city; the president of each branch of City Councils; the president of the Board of Public Education and of the Park Commission, elected by these bodies respectively; a citizen to be elected annually by each branch of City Councils, and eight other persons. The Museum Board was authorized to secure funds and a suitable site for museum buildings and was given power to execute the purposes of the Museum as indicated by the ordinance. From this time the city of Philadelphia made appropriations for the collection and care of material.

In the formation of the Museum Board Dr. Pepper's counsel was a controlling influence, and his unselfish nature was displayed in its wonted activity. His chief purpose was to organize a great public institution which should be a permanent feature of Philadelphia's civic life. No one else was thought of to direct the affairs of the new undertaking, and on the 20th of June, 1894, he was elected president of the Board of Trustees, an office in which he continued to serve until his death.

For many years he had been laboring to concentrate the energies and opportunities of the city and to co-ordinate its educational institutions. For thirty years he had been labor-

ing to group about the University such institutions as the Philosophical Society, the Academy of Natural Sciences, and the Public Libraries. The new Museum offered another opportunity for practical work and co-ordination with institutions already founded. Through his influence City Councils now granted several generous appropriations,[1] though as yet the Museum possessed not a foot of land nor an adequate building. Happily, early in the year 1895, the offices owned and formerly occupied by the Pennsylvania Railroad Company, on Fourth Street, were secured for museum purposes by Dr. Pepper, and in August the new institution was removed thither. The Pennsylvania Railroad Company generously granted the use of its buildings, thus securing to the Museum the use of adequate floor space, divided into eighty rooms. With the removal to Fourth Street the whole future of the Museum was changed. It was already a recognized city institution, dependent upon Councils for maintenance and enlargement. Now it had its suitable habitation, could begin its work, and make its influence felt in the commercial world.

The objects of the Museum may be stated briefly as follows: To gather from all parts of the world and make immediately available information concerning trade; to place on exhibition samples of all manufactured goods sold in foreign countries, in order practically to demonstrate to American manufacturers the requirements of the world's markets and the competition which must be met in them; to place on exhibition samples of the world's natural products, in order that American manufacturers, merchants, and consumers may know where to obtain those

[1] 1894, March, $25,000; 1895, $20,000; 1896, $65,000.

which are most useful and desirable; and, finally, to advance the standard of commercial education in the United States.

It was not in any sense a money-making institution, as from the inception of its collections it has been absolutely free to the public. Some of its friends thought that in securing ample quarters and the support of Councils it had acquired its full place in the world. Not so thought Dr. Pepper and the active spirits in the new organization; a larger concept of its scope and purpose animated them. The institution should be made useful to every manufacturer in America; but to execute so large a plan implied ceaseless attention to details and to every manufacturing interest in the country. More than this, it required the co-operation of the State Legislature and of Congress. Dr. Pepper's wide experience in public affairs put the new institution in a favorable light at Harrisburg and Washington, and through his influence measures were taken to secure State and national appropriations. He took the whole direction of the Museum movement now more completely into his own hands, and, as usual with him in all his undertakings, he devoted himself to its minutest details.

The search for a site now began. He suggested that the sloping front of the Almshouse grounds, a portion of Blockley farm, might be utilized, and was instrumental in bringing this property into the possession of the Museums. At a conference of representatives of the new movement and the Department of Archæology of the University, the trustees of the University agreed that the sixteen acres lying directly in front of the Almshouse should be assigned to the Philadelphia Museums, provided City Councils would pass the requisite ordinance. This was done on the 27th of June, 1895.

Dr. Pepper's plans for the use of this portion of the Blockley farm, it will be remembered, dated back many years. On July 6, 1883, under his influence, Councils had assigned the land "for public uses as a park and for museums." These sixteen acres, now designated as museum property, were a portion of this old park assignment. On the 10th of October, 1889, Councils granted another portion of the Blockley farm for a botanical garden, and on the 22d of November, 1897, still a larger plot, thirty acres, lying between the Pennsylvania Railroad and the Schuylkill River. This made a museum domain of forty-six acres adjoining the University, and carried out Dr. Pepper's old plan of concentrating and co-ordinating the educational facilities of Philadelphia. The next step was to erect suitable museum buildings which should enable the administration to work out the ideas exemplified at South Kensington, England. Architects were consulted, and Dr. Pepper found himself again immersed in problems of construction. Through his influence the city appropriation in 1896 was $200,000.[1]

In 1897 Councils granted $75,000, the State of Pennsylvania $50,000, and in 1898 Congress $300,000. In the aggregate $575,000 were to be expended in the erection of permanent buildings. Early in 1897 it was decided that a National Exports Exposition should be held two years later, in connection with the Museums, for the purpose of displaying the manufactures of the United States and bringing them to the attention of foreign countries.

This exposition had two objects,—first, to make a full and elaborate display to foreign customers of the manufacturing interests of the United States; and, secondly, to secure funds

[1] July 16.

with which to carry on the erection of the group of museum buildings. It was determined to appeal to Congress for aid. The scope and purpose of the Museum and of the proposed National Exposition of American Products and Manufactures were brought forcibly to the attention of the proper committees, and by no one more successfully than by Dr. Pepper, who appeared before the House Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, and made the following statement:

"The Philadelphia Commercial Museum has been from the start truly and wholly a public, municipal, and national organization. It began with the acquisition of extensive and valuable collections of natural products at the Chicago Exposition. Upon application being made to the ministers of all the countries exhibiting in Chicago, and the faith of the city of Philadelphia being pledged for the permanent care and custody of the collections, if presented to her, orders were sent to the commission at Chicago to turn over the vast quantities of natural products from many countries to the city of Philadelphia, which were later placed there on exhibition. There has never been the least private or business or proprietary interest or feature about the work.

"In order to display the products properly it was necessary to secure extensive buildings, pending the construction of the permanent buildings of the Museum. The directors of the Pennsylvania Railroad granted the occupancy of their Fourth Street offices on most generous terms. These buildings contained eighty large chambers. Many of the members of the committee have visited the Museums and can confirm what I say, that every room is crowded to the utmost, that every hall and corridor is lined with exhibits, and, in addition, there are hundreds of great cases of valuable products awaiting proper installation and display. Nowhere in the world is there so complete an exhibit of the natural products of all countries as is there found. These products are arranged for the special use of manufacturers and merchants. Not only every week,

but every day, the representatives of the great business firms all over the country visit these collections and study them to obtain practical information to guide their business operations. Then, besides the collection of natural products, there is another series, showing samples of nearly all the goods that are manufactured abroad in England and Germany and France and Belgium for export to Africa and South America and China and the other great neutral markets into which the American manufacturer is anxious to extend his trade. This series shows the exact articles made, with data as to how much it costs to produce them, how much it costs to transport them to the country for which they are intended, what import duties there are, what is the price at which they can be sold, what is the extent of trade in each article, what is the amount of population likely to use such articles, and other important information, so that our business men have every fact before them to enable them to decide whether they can enter into competition profitably with such goods.

"Then, to bring all this still more closely and directly to the manufacturer, there is a bureau of information, which is supported by the annual subscriptions of those firms that desire to take advantage of its privileges. Between twelve and thirteen hundred trade journals are received regularly, printed in all languages; also, all the consular reports of the United States and foreign governments, as well as all the statistical publications bearing on commerce issued by these governments. There is a large corps of trained clerks, who speak these languages fluently, engaged constantly in translating and reducing to compact form for trade bulletins the facts and information contained in these publications. This information is supplemented by a most extensive correspondence with over thirty-five thousand foreign buyers, located in most all parts of the world.

"From the beginning of this work the State Department recognized what valuable assistance the Commercial Museum could render to the entire consular service of the country, and, in turn, how

much help the consular service could render to our business men through the Museums. So that, beginning with Secretary Gresham's administration, down to the present time, the work of the Commercial Museum has been recognized as clearly a national work, and our consuls have been requested to render all assistance in their power. In fact, the official relationship existing between the Philadelphia Commercial Museum and the State Department is so close, and the mutual advantage of this association and co-operation so great, that the connection now amounts to practical governmental supervision of the work which the Museums perform.

"The Commercial Museum sends out special commissioners to all the neutral markets of the world, and they get full reports, which cannot be had from any other source.

"Now, it is because our practical manufacturers have experienced the benefits of this work that they are supporting it so strongly. It is the settled policy of the authorities of the Museum not to apply to Congress for a single dollar of aid in maintaining the work. If the work is well done and of real value to the manufacturers, they will surely support it. The whole management of the Commercial Museum is based on this broad national idea.

"Chambers of commerce, boards of trade, and commercial organizations of this country are in official relation with the institution, and every chamber of commerce appoints two of its leading members as its representatives on the governing board of the Museums. This board meets annually in Philadelphia, elects the officers, appoints the executive committee, lays down the policy for the ensuing year, and entrusts the carrying out of this policy to the local board of trustees, in conjunction with the officers of the governing board.

"Not only the commercial organizations of the United States are thus represented in the work of the Commercial Museums, but nearly all the chambers of commerce of this continent hold official relations with this institution. The work began by international co-operation; its full success requires cordial international co-oper-

ation, and this can be secured only by our receiving cordial national recognition.

"In addition to the governing board of the Museums, there is the diplomatic advisory board, composed of the ministers representing at Washington the countries which offer to our manufacturers the great new markets of the world. This board meets regularly, and the authorities of the Museums report fully to them upon the conditions and prospects and needs of the work.

"The expense of this great work has been defrayed in the first place by the city of Philadelphia, which, with the greatest liberality, has assigned a valuable tract of land, sixteen acres in extent, within a few minutes' ride by street-car from the City Hall, as a site for the permanent buildings; and it has also appropriated for the maintenance of the Museums in successive years, so that the total exceeds $350,000; and at the present time there is pending before the City Councils a further appropriation of $200,000 towards the permanent buildings. All this has been done, although it is clearly recognized that the manufacturers of every part of the country have just as free access to all the advantages of the institution as those in Philadelphia. So, too, the State of Pennsylvania has put her feet firmly in the path of supporting this great work. At the last session of the legislature it was found that the State finances were restricted, and that the demands were unusually heavy, so appropriations had to be cut down. But the State did appropriate $50,000 towards the permanent buildings of the Commercial Museum, and it is distinctly understood that at subsequent sessions of the legislature further and more liberal appropriations will be made.

"We have been urged time and time again to apply to the legislatures of other States for appropriations, just as we have been urged to come to the Congress for annual appropriations to help in the maintenance of the work; but, for reasons you will appreciate, it has been deemed better to resist these temptations.

"The support given by individual firms throughout the country is steadily increasing, and in a few years, if the institution is prop-

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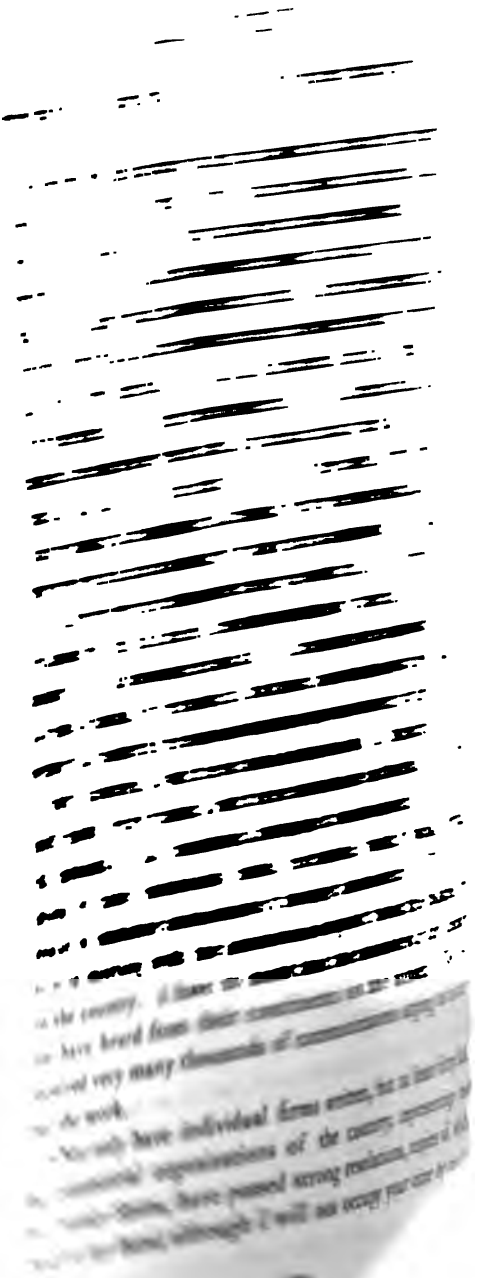

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for export, and of meeting at this exposition the repre-
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e best possible opportunities for extending their foreign
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intense personal interest I feel in this work is owing to the

erly encouraged and supported, it will become largely self-sustaining.

"I come now to the reason which has made it imperatively necessary to apply to the Congress for the amounts named in the bill which is in the hands of your honorable committee. Every year, when the board of the Museums meets and brings together several hundred of the leading manufacturers and commercial men of the country, there are also in attendance delegates from other countries. Last June the President of the United States honored the meeting with his presence. After the meeting in Philadelphia, the Spanish-American delegates were taken in special train to a number of the principal cities of the country. The results were remarkable: many important commercial relations were established and actual orders were placed amounting to many millions of dollars.

"These foreign delegates then urged that if best results were to be obtained in the future in these meetings it must be by the establishment at a convenient point of a complete exposition of American goods suitable for export, so that our business men would come together and meet the foreign delegates, representing the great buyers of other countries, with the actual samples of American manufactured goods before them, with the immense collections of the natural products of all countries, arranged conveniently, so that close study of trade conditions could be made, which would certainly result in immense stimulation of foreign commerce. This proposition is meeting with the unanimous support from the business men in the country. I have no doubt that the members of this committee have heard from their constituents on the subject. We have received very many thousands of communications urging us to carry out the work.

"Not only have individual firms written, but at least forty leading commercial organizations of the country, representing more than twenty States, have passed strong resolutions, copies of which I hold in my hand, although I will not occupy your time by reading them.

"Now, it is clear that such an exposition cannot be carried out without national recognition and support. Mr. William Harper, the chief of the bureau of information, who is present to-day, has just returned from a visit to Africa, Australia, and China, in the interest of this work. In each of these countries the deepest interest is felt, and there have already been appointed leading representatives of their great business communities to come as delegates to the exposition in 1899.

"I have tried to show you that the city of Philadelphia and the State of Pennsylvania have done certainly more than their share in this great national work. I have shown you how earnestly our commercial organizations and individual firms are exerting themselves. I have tried to make it clear that the work is absolutely a national one and divested of any character of self-seeking interest or business design.

"The question has been raised as to the precedents for such appropriations. It is known to the committee that appropriations have been made in various instances to expositions which were of a temporary character, not devoted especially to practical business purposes. In this case the bill is safeguarded by the condition that $50,000 shall be expended to complete the exhibits of manufactured goods made abroad for sale in the neutral markets which our manufacturers desire to enter, while every dollar of the remaining $300,000 must be covered by an equal amount secured from other sources, and the appropriation must be expended simply and solely in the construction of permanent buildings. For this exposition is not to be a temporary one. This is the beginning of a great, continuing, practical work, where, year after year, our manufacturers will have the opportunity of seeing a complete exhibit of American goods made for export, and of meeting at this exposition the representative buyers and commercial delegates of other countries, so as to enjoy the best possible opportunities for extending their foreign commercial relations.

"The intense personal interest I feel in this work is owing to its

scientific and educational character. Its growth has been far more rapid than could have been expected. Nothing can explain it except the fact that its importance answers a great and clearly recognized need of our business communities. As I have watched its growth it has been forced in upon my mind from hundreds of sources that our manufacturers and business men feel this is a solution of the great difficulties of our commercial condition; that it is the key which will alone enable them to open the avenues of trade which will relieve the stringent conditions of overproduction that threatens us.

"The advantages of the bureau of information of the Philadelphia Museums are available without restriction to every individual or firm that pays the small annual sum of $50.

"It should be clearly understood that the exposition is not to be made a money-making enterprise.[1] In addition to the amounts that will be received from the State of Pennsylvania and the city of Philadelphia, and, it is hoped, from the national government, there will be large subscriptions to the stock of the exposition association. Mr. P. A. B. Widener is president of the board of directors of this association, and such men as John H. Converse, W. L. Elkins, Charles H. Cramp, Samuel Disston, Justus C. Strawbridge, and others of equal prominence from Philadelphia and other localities, are members of the board. We have started the subscription to the stock with good liberal sums, and it is expressly stipulated that if any surplus is left over after the payment of the amount subscribed to the stock, it shall be turned over as a part of the permanent fund."[2]

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[1] In response to questions from members of the committee, Dr. Pepper stated that the exposition buildings, with their collections, were open freely to all visitors from whatever sections of the country. No charge for admission was to be made. The collections were open for inspection every day in the year, except Sundays and legal holidays, from 9 A.M. until 5 P.M.

[2] H. R. Report, No. 1154, April 23, 1898.

Dr. Pepper's appeal was supplemented by the declarations of prominent manufacturers in various parts of the country and by an official statement of the organization and practical workings of the Museums. Undoubtedly the argument which carried the most weight was concerning the nature of the Museum itself: that it was a public institution, organized, controlled, and supported by the city of Philadelphia, and that it was conducted entirely for the benefit of the public. In 1898 the city of Philadelphia appropriated $100,000 for the maintenance of the institution, and on the 21st of December of that year Congress appropriated $50,000 for the collection of foreign trade samples. The appeal to Congress met with further success: it appropriated $300,000 additional, which was expended principally in the erection of the Exposition Building.

Down to the close of the fiscal year, 1899–1900, not less than $1,455,000 had been appropriated for the use of the Museum by the city of Philadelphia, the State of Pennsylvania, and the national government. Of this amount the city had contributed more than $1,000,000, in addition to its donation of fifty-six acres of land within the city limits for the permanent buildings of the Museums.

From the outset the plan of the institution included the organization of a domestic advisory board, whose members were elected by chambers of commerce, boards of trade, and other commercial bodies throughout the United States. The first meeting of this board was held June 3, 1896, when nearly one hundred organizations were represented. On this occasion Dr. Pepper, as president of the Museum, entering at length into details, explained its scope and purpose as follows:

"It is proper that, before proceeding to the business of the morning, a brief statement shall be made of the scope and intent of the movement we are initiating.

"While barter and trade are found in primitive stages of human development, commerce is a function of highly organized society. Its extent and character give unerring indications of the power and importance of communities. The methods by which it is conducted and the influence by which its permanence is ensured, its growth promoted, and its advantages diffused, are subjects of profound interest and practical importance.

"Naturally, there have been developed agencies of various types for the investigation and advancement of commercial interests. The organization of the individual trades, the Trades League, the Board of Trade, the Chamber of Commerce, each deals with a special phase of the subject. These concern themselves solely or chiefly with practical results, and are unavoidably influenced by the influential interests of the locality or the industry represented.

"It would seem clear, however, that no method of studying industries and commerce can be scientific and complete which does not include the museum idea, as now comprehended. The Museum aims to teach by object-lesson the story of the world, past and present. The Biological Museum presents the objects of human and comparative anatomy, arranged scientifically and labelled so fully as to constitute the best text-book for the study of those subjects. The Museum of Natural History does the same in its field. The Museum of Archæology shows the progress of the race from the most archaic times, the different types of human beings, their modes of living, their forms of worship, their games, their weapons, their implements, the natural products which they use for subsistence, in their industries, and in their arts, the objects of manufacture or of art which they produce, and the manner in which they dispose of their dead.

"I need not dwell upon the great educational and humanizing value of such institutions, or rather of such an institution, for the

complete Museum comprehends not only the above but many other special collections, whether installed under a single management or distributed more or less widely.

"It is not too much to assert that the level reached in intelligence and organization by any community may be gauged most accurately by the attention and support of its museums.

"Some years ago we began the serious task of developing in this community a complete series of museums. The controlling purpose has been the embodiment in each of the strict scientific and educational method. This implies the creation of a staff of experts of professional rank, the establishment of laboratories for original investigation upon objects forming the collection, the formation of a library of reference and of a bureau of publication to diffuse the results attained.

"The natural products and manufactured articles which constitute the material of commerce came necessarily into such a scheme, and the long-looked-for opportunity of establishing a commercial museum upon a truly scientific basis presented itself when, at the close of the Columbian Exposition at Chicago, it was possible, through the enlightened liberality of the municipal authorities of Philadelphia, and the invaluable services of Professor W. Powell Wilson, to secure vast collections of commercial material. The problem which gave gravest anxiety was to secure a form of organization which would preserve the administration of the proposed museum from the taint of personal interest, would foster a true scientific spirit in all its work, and would secure a permanent financial stability.

"The necessary legislation was secured which called into existence a Board of Trustees, recognized officially and legally as a department of the city of Philadelphia, and the mode of whose appointment is such as to justify the hope that at all times practical educators and scientific museum experts will be found associated with the leading men of affairs.

"So conclusively satisfied have the municipal authorities been

from the outset as to the disinterestedness of all connected with this important movement, that already, under two successive administrations, large appropriations have been made for the maintenance and development of the Museums; and a valuable tract of land has been transferred to the Board of Trustees as a site for the permanent fire-proof buildings, upon the construction of which we hope soon to begin.

"It is needless to say that this official and disinterested character alone has justified recognition by the State authorities, whose active co-operation has been constantly available and whose approval has been announced, of the policy that the State should contribute her share to the development and maintenance of this institution.

"An equally gratifying result has been the recognition of our work by the national authorities. No matter how extensive our collections might be, their value would be sadly impaired unless the Museum should maintain a Bureau of Information, prepared to issue the most full, recent, and accurate information upon each and every commercial subject. The late Mr. Gresham, when Secretary of State, extended to us the most encouraging assurance; and his eminent successor, the present Secretary of State, has graciously placed the Museum administration in relation with our consular service in a manner which seems sure to confer important reciprocal advantages.

"A library containing files of over five hundred trade journals, embracing nearly all of importance published, together with full sets of the official publications of the leading countries of the world relating to commerce; special consular reports, prepared in response to our printed sets of questions forwarded by the Department of State; full reports from our own agents sent to localities of particular importance; a force of clerks familiar with the languages of the leading commercial countries, constantly engaged in the preparation of fresh and accurate bulletins: these constitute the equipment of the Bureau of Information.

"It is our purpose to render the circulars issued by this Bureau

serviceable to every manufacturer and commercial concern in the country which desires to be qualified to share in our growing export trade. It is our purpose to render equally serviceable the collections which illustrate these circulars; for these collections will be kept continually up to date by the co-operation, of which we have already cordial assurance, of special commissions appointed in the various countries with which we aim to have important commercial relations. Note, for instance, the object-lesson here afforded by the treatment of the exports and imports of Venezuela. We have been happy to serve the National Association of Manufacturers by securing a concession for the establishment of a bonded warehouse in Caracas for the display of American manufactures. In our Museum here are displayed all the natural products of Venezuela, scientifically arranged and classified, and clearly labelled and described; and in an adjoining series of rooms are arranged the leading manufactured articles imported from Europe into Venezuela. These samples have been recently purchased by our representatives, who went abroad for this special purpose.

"It was only after having demonstrated the public confidence in the integrity of our purpose and in the strictly scientific method of our work, and after having secured the above-mentioned relation with our consular service, and after having formed collections which may fairly be described as unequalled in many lines, that we felt prepared to take the final step in organization, and to propose the formation of a national advisory board.

"It is possible that mere courtesy and transient interest in a novel experiment might have won for this proposal some favorable recognition. But it is obvious that to have received a prompt and favorable response from every commercial organization, embracing many of the most important in the country, to which invitations were extended, to have learned that in every instance the delegates chosen have been of the most distinguished and representative class, and to now welcome here so many of those appointed, implies a belief that this institution is prepared to render substantial and

enduring service to the commercial interests of the entire country.

"This service will consist, in the first place, in the opportunity afforded to the individual members of your constituencies to secure the advantages of the Bureau of Information, and to profit by our great collections from reports of agents sent here to study them. But, again, we shall maintain a regular official relation with the organizations from which you come to us as delegates by providing a free series of monthly reports upon trade conditions. It shall be our aim to render these more fresh, full, and accurate than could otherwise be obtained. We shall further send not only the annual reports and the official catalogues to the commercial organizations as a body, as well as to the delegates as individual members of our Advisory Board, but also all reports from our laboratories, where scientific investigations are to be conducted upon the extensive series of products gathered from all sources.

"But even more than upon the value of these reports and contributions to the bodies which you represent do we depend upon the actual practical value of the meetings of the Advisory Board. It is our belief that these meetings should be strictly business meetings, devoted to the presentation and discussion of commercial topics in a serious and scientific spirit. Products, facts, and processes, not theories, or doctrines, or politics, should be the subject-matter of our deliberations.

"At the close of these remarks I shall ask your permission to appoint a Committee on By-laws and Programme of Business for future meetings, and will request them to report at the opening of the afternoon session. I shall then invite a most full and free discussion of the organization and plans of the Museum, in order that valuable suggestions may be received as to the manner in which this Museum may be enabled to best serve the manufacturing and commercial interests of the entire country.

"The trustees and officers of this Museum ask for your confidence in their freedom from local or political or *doctrinaire* views.

They approach this great work from a purely scientific and educational stand-point, believing that thus the highest standard of activity will be maintained and the best results be accomplished.

"Philadelphia has surely done nobly, and well deserves the large measure of approval and of substantial benefit which will accrue from the development of this national institution in this locality. If the happy balance now adjusted can be maintained, and the material support be provided by the city and State in whom the property of the institution will vest, and to whom inevitably will accrue a rich return for the liberal services made, while the recognition and facilities extended by the national government confer unique privileges, and the Bureau of Information is rendered self-supporting by individual subscriptions, and the official relations of the Museum with the commercial organizations throughout the country is assured by our Advisory Board, it would seem not improbable that far-reaching results may follow our efforts to promote the commercial prosperity of our country."[1]

Plans were now perfected for the extension of the work of the Museum abroad and for the utilization of the institution by business houses in the United States. It was decided to enlarge the membership so as to include all countries in North and South America, and extensive preparations were made for the next annual meeting of the Board.

The reputation of the Museum was already so great that when its director and the chief of its Scientific Department went to Mexico, in the spring of 1897, for the purpose of awakening an interest in the approaching gathering, and in the work of the Museums generally, they found that the reputation of the Museum had preceded them. President

[1] Proceedings of the First Annual Meeting of the Advisory Board of the Philadelphia Museum, June 3–4, 1896, 22 pp. Philadelphia *Press*, June 3, 1896.

Diaz received them most courteously, expressed his warm personal interest in the object of their mission, and surrounded them with opportunities for insuring success. When the delegates assembled at Philadelphia in June, 1897, it was discovered that the membership of the Advisory Board had increased fifty per cent. during the year and that sixteen countries were represented. The delegates from Mexico and Brazil were appointed by the chief executives of these countries. The gathering took on a much broader character than the one of the previous year, and was known as the Pan-American Commercial Congress. At the second day's session the President of the United States, William McKinley, made a memorable address formally inaugurating the Museum as a public institution. His remarks met with enthusiastic approbation, when he said:

"The avowed aim of the Philadelphia Commercial Museum is to aid in the development of commercial and industrial prosperity. No worthier cause can engage our energies. It is a most praiseworthy one,—the extension of trade,—and is to be followed by wider markets, better fields of employment, and easier conditions for the masses. Such an effort commands instant approval of all, for it is linked with the prosperity of the humblest toiler and the welfare of every home and fireside. Its generous support will insure and increase its usefulness. A spirit of friendly and mutual advantageous interchange and co-operation has been exemplified which is in itself inspiring and helpful, not only to trade and commerce, but to international comity, and good-will must always precede good trade. The purchasers and consumers of all nations are here brought together in close touch and taught to work together for the common weal. A movement of this kind is national,—aye, more than that, international in its character; and I predict that its success will surprise even its most enthusiastic friends and founders."

Only those who have participated in working out the details of such a gathering as this to which the President of the United States was here speaking can appreciate the enormous labor involved in the successful carrying out of such an undertaking. The burden of the work fell upon Dr. Pepper. It was he who wrote the draft of the letter of invitation sent to the President of the United States, and it was he who determined the form and style of every important feature of the meeting.[1] He was no longer Provost of the University of Pennsylvania, but retirement from that honorable office had in no wise decreased his influence or diminished his fame. He was still the foremost citizen of Philadelphia.

Nothing delighted Dr. Pepper more than to be able to participate in a public movement of acknowledged usefulness. He loved to touch elbows with men of affairs, and he had profound respect for the captains of industry whose services all over our country have contributed to make it what it is. He knew very well that the business men who had assembled from so many countries to participate in this meeting of the Advisory Board represented substantial interests of the world. He felt that he was directing his energies in channels of even greater utility than the limited domain of academic effort.

During the session many interesting reports and speeches were made. It was decided unanimously that the privileges of membership in the Board should be extended to Australia and to the countries of Asia and Africa. The delegates from Mexico and Central South America referred to the efforts of James G. Blaine to bring the people of North and South

[1] MS. letters, Dr. Pepper to Dr. Wilson, in the Archives of the Philadelphia Museum.

America into closer commercial relations. The word reciprocity was on every lip, and commercial harmony was the common thought. Every part of Latin America was found to be friendly to the United States. Other nations and other races might be our competitors, and in some instances our bitter rivals, but the people to the south of us looked upon us as friends and allies, and were zealous to apply themselves to the task of securing a better understanding in matters of trade and of removing all disabilities. The social features of the meeting were particularly enjoyable, and successful efforts were made to bring the visitors into closer touch with the manufacturers and business men of the United States. This was effected through special excursions to various industrial centres, the results of which were gratifying to all.

The agitation which preceded the war with Spain greatly interfered with the permanent plans of the Exposition, and the outbreak of hostilities compelled a postponement of the Exposition, but not a cessation of preparation for it. Early in the year 1897, the United States Senate, through Dr. Pepper's influence, had passed the Exposition Bill, and in December of the following year the bill passed the House of Representatives. The contribution of the city of Philadelphia, which was included in the loan bill, was delayed by a litigation over the legality of that measure, and was not assured until February, 1899. By March 1 of that year, however, all obstacles were removed. It was decided that further postponement was unadvisable, and the work of erecting the Exposition Buildings was begun. Ground was broken for the main building during the last week in March, and, in less than six months, handsome and commodious structures were erected, three of which were designed for the permanent home of the Museum. On September 14, 1899,

the Exposition was opened amidst great public enthusiasm, and on October 12 the third annual meeting of the Advisory Board assembled in the name of the International Commercial Congress. This gathering proved a remarkable success. Nearly two hundred foreign delegates, representing thirty-eight governments and one hundred and twelve organizations, participated in the discussions, and there were delegates from the leading chambers of commerce and boards of trade in the United States. So great was the interest which had been aroused in various parts of the world that the Board had increased to one hundred and sixty-eight American and three hundred foreign delegates, or four hundred and sixty-eight in all,—an index of the vast work which the Museum was doing.

Its activity and influence had now become world-wide. All the principal foreign governments were directly interested, and the government of the United States was interested to a degree most gratifying. The Department of State at Washington had acted as the official agent of the Museum and had forwarded all the invitations for the Congress. Every American consul had been instructed to give his official aid in creating an interest in the Exposition and the Congress and to co-operate with the special commissioners of the Museum who were gathering materials for the Exposition in all parts of the world.

The delegates were welcomed by the President of the United States at a special reception given in their honor at Washington. The deliberations of the Congress, which was in session seventeen days, were presided over by many distinguished men, including Honorable Thomas B. Reed, Honorable Cornelius B. Bliss, and Honorable Seth Low. Among the speakers were Ex-Senator George F. Edmunds,

President Eliot, of Harvard, and others of national reputation, among them delegates from foreign countries. More than one hundred papers and addresses of vital interest to the commerce of nations were presented for the consideration of the Congress, and to every speaker were accorded the widest latitude and freedom of speech. Resolutions were adopted upon nine of the most important questions of the day,—such as the immediate construction of the Isthmian Canal, the extension of the parcel-post system, and the establishment of common trade-mark laws. Arrangements were effected to secure frequent meetings between the foreign delegates and visitors and the manufacturers of the United States, especially those who were exhibitors at the Exposition.

The Exposition itself was in many ways remarkable, being entirely original in scope and design, and the first national exposition of American manufactures which are especially suited for export trade. Its design was to bring together in one convenient spot the American manufacturer and the foreign buyer. No better place could have been selected for the purpose than the city of Philadelphia, the metropolis of the principal manufacturing State in the Union. Moreover, the Exposition itself and the Museum, together with the many important manufacturing places located in the city, afforded exceptional opportunities for studying American industries at their best. Here, for example, were the Baldwin Locomotive Works, with the capacity of turning out three locomotives a day; Cramp's ship-yard, the largest in America; and the Pencoyd Iron Works, which built the famous Atbara Bridge in the Soudan. Here, too, were many other noted establishments engaged in the manufacturing of nearly every kind of article known to the American export trade.

Notwithstanding the fact that the Exposition was held at a time when American manufacturers were busy filling orders consequent upon the revival of business, a large number of instructive exhibits were brought together. There was displayed the latest improved machinery of every type, implements, tools, and labor-saving devices without number. As far as possible every machine was displayed in operation, so as to convey a greater understanding of its uses and advantages. Especially important to the American manufacturers was the department of samples of goods made abroad and sold in foreign markets or prepared in those markets for local consumption. Congress, when it appropriated fifty thousand dollars for the purchase of these samples by the Museum, provided that they should be displayed at the Exposition "for the instruction and benefit of American manufacturers and merchants, thereby laying the foundation of a great system of national education." The Exposition, notwithstanding the obstacles which had to be overcome and the fact that it was the pioneer of its kind, proved a financial success. During the sixty-nine days it remained open it was visited by 1,357,782 persons. Its practical value was recognized not only by Congress, which appropriated in all three hundred and fifty thousand dollars towards it, but also by the President of the United States, who expressed his opinion of the Exposition in his message to the Fifty-sixth Congress.

"The representative character of the exhibits and the wide-spread interest manifested in the special object of the undertaking afforded renewed encouragement to those who look confidently to the steady growth of our enlarged exportation of manufactured goods which has been the most remarkable fact in the economic development of the United States in recent years. A feature of the Exposition

which is likely to become of permanent and increasing utility to our industries was the collection of samples of merchandise produced in foreign countries with special reference to particular markets, thus proving practical object-lessons to United States manufacturers as to qualities, style, and prices of goods, such as meet the special demands of consumers and may be exported with advantage.

"In connection with the Exposition," he continued, "an International Commercial Congress was held, upon the invitation of the Philadelphia Commercial Museum, transmitted by the Department of State to the various governments, for the interchange of information and opinion with a view to the formation of international trade. This invitation met with universal and cordial acceptance, and the Congress proved to be of great practical importance from the fact that it developed a general recognition of the interdependence of nations in trade, a most gratifying spirit of accommodation with reference to the gradual removal of existing impediments in reciprocal relations without injury to the industrial interests of either party." [1]

On the occasion of the formal opening of the Museum by President McKinley, Dr. Pepper called attention to the fact that the institution not only afforded instruction to the manufacturer, to the merchant, and to the general public, but also provided a splendid training school for earnest students seeking to fit themselves for the consular service or for other important positions.

"Teachers and others engaged in educational work," said Dr. Pepper, "frequently avail themselves of the advantages afforded

[1] The official proceedings of the International Commercial Congress, folio, 442 pp., 1899, were published at the press of the Philadelphia Commercial Museum, and were distributed throughout the world.

by the Museum to bring their classes to study a particular kind of material or the products of a particular country. Professor Wilson has given regular courses of instruction on commercial geography to the school-teachers of Philadelphia and vicinity. These lectures have been illustrated by lantern-slides, and some of them have been delivered before merchants, scientific societies, and other organizations that have assembled in the Museum lecture-room. Specimens of the world's important products are prepared by the Museum, and supplied by it to schools and societies, and it lends lantern-slides and specimens on request.

"While the first care of the Museum is the American manufacturer and exporter, it is not unmindful of the interests of the foreign producer whose goods this country needs. Those in charge of it believe that the ships going from port to port should be provided, as far as possible, with cargoes both ways. Many thousand business firms, with whom it is in close and constant touch, testify to its efficiency in promoting reciprocal and mutual beneficial trade. It is to its active, helpful, energetic assistance now exercised for several years, that there may be ascribed much of the marvellous increase in the foreign trade of this country, which, for the first time in 1896, surpassed that of Great Britain, and placed the United States in the first rank as an exporting nation.

"The Commercial Museum long ago ceased to be a novelty to the business men of the world where foreign commerce has been a study for years, but until the organization of the Philadelphia Museum its kind did not exist anywhere. It remained for this Museum to mark a new departure in the history of commerce by rendering not merely a passing but active service in extending foreign trade relations. From the time of its removal to Fourth Street, in 1894, it became an aggressive potent factor, both in promoting the foreign trade of the United States and in benefiting international commerce in general. It was for this reason that the International Commercial Congress unanimously declared that the Museum is an institution worthy of the support of every govern-

ment, of their chambers of commerce, boards of trade, and other commercial and industrial organizations in every country in the world.

"It is estimated that the completion of the seven buildings, with their appliances and accommodation for collections, will require at least the expenditure of two and a quarter million dollars; but this is a small sum compared with the work which the institution has accomplished and which it will accomplish in the future. The value of its service to manufacturers and merchants of this country in the extension of foreign trade cannot be estimated in money."

On the 6th of June, 1898, the day before Dr. Pepper left for California in the vain search for health, he dictated a cheerful note to Professor Wilson, encouraging him to push forward the work of the Museum vigorously, and assuring him that he would return in September again to co-operate with him in the great enterprise. We know that he never returned, that his work was done, and that there remained for his associates in the Museum only to carry on the great work of the institution which he had been instrumental in founding. Had he done no more than to organize the Commercial Museum he would justly have endeared his name to posterity; but we know that this was only part of his life-work; that while he was furthering this special interest he was also laboring with equal zeal for the University, for the Free Library, for the Archæological Museum, and for many other public movements in the city of his birth.

IV

THE FREE MUSEUM OF SCIENCE AND ART

1886–1898

IN 1886-87 the important relation of archæological discovery to education first made itself felt in Philadelphia. At the University of Pennsylvania a Department of Semitics was established, and Professor Hermann V. Helprecht was called to the chair of Assyriology. This was the first official step taken by the institution towards a recognition of its needs along this line of research, and it was due to Dr. Pepper that the University was then made to take a part in the intellectual movement in which it was soon to achieve distinction.

Somewhat later (1888) and through the exertions of the Rev. John P. Peters, D.D., a number of gentlemen,[1] interested in biblical studies, formed themselves into a committee for the purpose of sending a scientific expedition to the Lower Euphrates. The plan was to conduct excavations on the site of ancient Nippur, where extensive mounds had long challenged the interest of scholars and seemed to promise a rich harvest. Dr. Pepper, always on the alert to recognize worthy public enterprises, at once perceived the importance to the University of this movement if carried

[1] Messrs. E. W. Clark, C. H. Clark, Henry C. Trumbull, C. C. Harrison, W. W. Frazier, and others.

on under its auspices. He joined the committee under the chairmanship of Mr. E. W. Clark, subscribed to its work, and soon became its leading spirit. The undertaking thenceforth became known as the Expedition of the University of Pennsylvania.

He assigned several halls in the Library Building, then about to be erected, as exhibition-rooms for the collections that in time must come to the University.[1] As a beginning a few miscellaneous object squeezes, casts, a number of Palmyrene sculptures, and also some Roman and Etruscan antiquities, were placed in an upper hall of the college, and formed the nucleus of a museum. With the immediate prospect of an acquisition of important archæological material, Dr. Pepper also saw the possibility of bringing together at the University a new group of intelligent men and women whose interest, at the time scattered, might become united in loyal service to the institution. He therefore felt a deep concern in the success of the effort. In Mr. Francis C. Macauley he at once found a useful ally for carrying out his plans. Mr. Macauley had been educated in Europe. An amateur collector of considerable experience, his intelligent interest in archæology and ethnology, as well as his wide circle of acquaintances and his popularity in Philadelphia, especially fitted him to help in such an undertaking. On the occasion of a dinner given by him, at Dr. Pepper's suggestion, at the Philadelphia Club, in the autumn of 1889, a rough plan of action was outlined, and it was agreed to establish "the Archæological Association of the University."

[1] See pp. 270, 271, also his letter to the trustees, in which, as an argument in favor of a fire-proof library building, he refers to his agreement with the Babylonian Committee.

It was also decided[1] to form a section of American Archæology, of which Dr. Daniel G. Brinton was appointed chairman,—his private collections forming the nucleus of the section.[2]

On the occasion of Miss Edwards's visit to Philadelphia, in 1890, Dr. Pepper, eager to avail himself of the opportunity offered for the acquiring of collections from Egypt, raised a fund of two thousand dollars for the purpose of establishing working relations with the Egypt exploration fund. An Egyptian section was created and placed under the charge of Mrs. Cornelius Stevenson, who from the first had been interested in Dr. Pepper's plans. In 1891 a section devoted to Asia and general ethnology was added, with Mr. Stewart Culin as curator, and in 1893, chiefly through the exertions of Mrs. Charles Platt, a section of casts was organized, of which the late Mr. Arthur Biddle was appointed chairman. The establishment of each of these sections represented a

[1] At a meeting held at Dr. Pepper's office in November, 1889, Dr. Joseph Leidy was elected president of the new association; Dr. Horace Jayne, at the time Dean of the University, secretary, and Mr. Thomas Hockley, treasurer. Mr. Stewart Culin took Dr. Jayne's place in 1890, and was succeeded by Mrs. Cornelius Stevenson, Sc.D., in 1894. Mrs. J. Dundas Lippincott succeeded Mr. Hockley as treasurer in 1892. At her death, 1894, Mr. C. H. Clark was elected, and was succeeded by Mr. John Sparhawk, Jr., in 1897.

[2] On the recommendation of Professor F. W. Putnam, of Harvard, Dr. C. C. Abbott, of Trenton, N. J., was appointed curator, in which office he was succeeded by Mr. Henry C. Mercer in 1894. Finally, in 1899, a section of General Ethnology and American Archæology was formed of the two sections, and placed under the care of Mr. Stewart Culin as curator.

vast amount of labor on the part of many people whose activities received direction from Dr. Pepper. In 1893 Mr. Maxwell Sommerville was persuaded by Provost Pepper to transfer his superb collection of engraved gems from the Metropolitan Museum of New York, where it was then exhibited, to the Museum of the University. This priceless collection was installed in three halls, set apart for the purpose in the Library Building, and was eventually erected into a section of Glyptics, with Mr. Sommerville as chairman and curator.

At this time the conditions under which the work had been conducted had altered so materially that its reorganization had become imperative. The success of the Archæological Association was now assured, and the Provost recognized that the time had come to bind the Museum and its group of workers to the University in a more formal manner. The result was the creation of a Department of Archæology and Paleontology in the University (January 2, 1892), under the direction and control of a Board of Managers, consisting of not less than thirty members, six of whom were appointed by the Trustees of the University and twenty-four by the Archæological Association. Of this new board Honorable Charlemagne Tower, Jr.,[1] was elected president. In later years the membership was increased to fifty.[2]

It was Dr. Pepper's constant policy to make room around

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[1] Afterwards American Minister to Austria and Ambassador to Russia.

[2] After Dr. Pepper's death the department was reorganized and placed under the charge of a board of fifteen managers, with an advisory board.

him for as many active and influential citizens as a variety of interests could attract to the ever-increasing group which he sought to bind to the University. In this case he aimed at forming a flexible organization in which each committee might freely carry out its own plan as far as was consistent with loyalty to the Department. Wealthy members might provide funds, scholars might bring celebrity, society leaders might make the work popular and through the glamor of fashion promote the undertaking. Men of affairs might contribute practical suggestions, and politicians real power. No one understood as well as Dr. Pepper that to create and sustain a great institution a large number of people must be induced to take pride in its success, and every element in the community may become of use.

In December, 1892, the project of erecting a museum building for the suitable installation of these extensive collections was taken up by Mrs. Stevenson. In consequence of the broad policy carried out by the Board, the work had grown with such unexpected rapidity that in spite of the liberal accommodations granted by the University only a small proportion of the accumulated material could be exhibited, and the facilities for storage had become wholly inadequate. It was obvious that if the remarkable activity of the Department was to continue, additional provision must be made for its growth, otherwise progress must be stopped. These facts were forcibly placed before Dr. Pepper, who at first demurred at the thought of so large an undertaking. Several important building schemes at the University were then claiming attention. He was planning for the erection of the William Pepper clinical laboratory; he was considering the expediency of erecting a building for

the Law School,[1] and also dormitories to meet the growing need of the rapidly increasing number of students.

At first he felt reluctant to enter on a new building project of large proportions. He dreaded, doubtless, lest the effort necessary to raise the money for such an edifice might interfere with other plans to which he stood committed. Or it may be that he wished to test the self-reliance and ability of those in charge of the movement before pledging himself to the new venture. Whatever his reasons for pausing, his first attitude towards the project was discouraging. Writing on the subject to Mrs. Stevenson, May 6, 1891, he said:

"The University has done, I think, all that could be done in supplying such splendid quarters for the Museum, as well as in many other ways. I had hoped for a vigorous putting forth of activity in the management of the Museum. What can I possibly do? You may count on me for every effort in my power."

In his Report as Provost for 1892, however, he referred to the phenomenal growth of the Archæological Association and to its need of room,[2] and he announced to the Trustees that the time had come for the erection of a building worthy to enshrine the great collections.

Some time after this, it having been represented to him that, whilst archæology could not at first be expected to appeal to the public mind, a small group of men might become sufficiently interested in it to take up the subject of the

[1] In a letter (1894) he mentions in confidence having already raised $40,000 towards the $125,000 regarded by him as the minimum cost.

[2] See p. 314, ante.

Museum building, he expressed himself as follows in a letter dated October 11, 1892:

"As to the Museum building, I do not think it will be possible to secure it through a few subscribers. It will have to be a widespread popular subscription if it is to be carried on at all. We may, however, find some one with sufficient enthusiasm and cash."

All of which was tantamount to saying that the scheme was impracticable. This was a period of discouragement. Mr. Macauley had gone abroad for permanent residence, and there seemed no one willing or able to take his place. Dr. D. G. Brinton was approached by Mrs. Stevenson, but was unwilling to share in the undertaking, and at first little response was met with from other quarters.

Meanwhile, Dr. Pepper's attitude was deliberate and prudent. He felt that he could not divert his own energies from plans already resolved upon, and the little group of willing helpers seemed unequal to so formidable a task. Yet he was in real sympathy with the effort.

"I fear that it is useless to have a meeting of that committee," he wrote. "Let us collect data, and secure from the Trustees of the University a reservation of space for the building, and get more active business men on our board before we start a practical study of the question."

It required, however, little demonstration to make him appreciate the fact that a museum which had ceased to grow must soon be a dead museum; that it is of little educational value unless it is kept up to date; and that the work already done had in a few short years brought more international recognition to the University than that of any other single department. Accordingly, when at last courage and perse-

verance were crowned with success, and a few public-spirited men and women became earnestly interested in the project, Dr. Pepper entered warmly into the scheme, and with characteristic enthusiasm and liberality declared himself ready to head the list with a large subscription. Mr. Daniel Baugh having accepted the chairmanship of the building committee and having announced his intention to stand by it, the undertaking at last took tangible shape at a dinner given by Mrs. Stevenson, January 19, 1892. Dr. Pepper, Mr. Tower, and Mr. Baugh each subscribed five thousand dollars, and in a few days many other names were added to the list.[1] The little group was soon further strengthened by the addition of Mr. W. L. Elkins and Mr. P. A. B. Widener, whom Dr. Pepper induced to join the Board.

Referring at this time to Mr. C. H. Cramp's spontaneous offer to subscribe to the fund, Dr. Pepper wrote:

"Is there any greater or more real pleasure than that derived from such an event as this generous gift?"

By this time a building fund of over fifty thousand dollars had been accrued,—enough to begin preliminary plans and to warrant an effort to secure land from the city for a building site. The original plan was a modest one. Dr. Pepper drew a rough sketch before the architects were consulted upon the subject. "Here it is," wrote he, "a sketch worthy of Michael Angelo. It shows the finished building with six side galleries of spacious size and a splendid central hall; and on the other side of the page it shows how readily one fine gallery might be available standing back a good distance

[1] Mr. Charles H. Cramp, Mr. John Harrison, Mr. Alfred C. Harrison, Mr. C. H. Colket, Mrs. William Weightman, etc.

all around. Such a gallery might be built, if not more than forty feet high, for about thirty-five or forty thousand dollars at the safest estimate." The total cost of the structure then projected was not to exceed one hundred and fifty thousand dollars, but that of the completed plan might ultimately reach five hundred thousand dollars.

It should be borne in mind that at this time, if the museum idea was not a new one to the community, it was by no means a commonly accepted one. Only scholars fully understood the bearing of archæology upon the study of history. To the public mind in Philadelphia it was not yet clear that museums are as necessary to public education as are text-books and that no great city can well lay claim to being an intellectual centre unless it is well provided with such scientific plants which enable scholars to do original work and to join in the mental progress of the world. Even to-day the practical utility of such an institution is occasionally questioned. Yet on an average between four and five thousand visitors now pass monthly through the galleries of this one museum, and many students and scholars avail themselves of the scientific facilities which it offers for original investigation.

A campaign of education was therefore necessary to popularize the idea, for upon its popularity must depend not only the building fund, but the securing from the city the site upon which to erect the edifice. The Philadelphia newspapers did a noble service. They were found ever ready to publish announcements, and their editorial columns were freely used to advocate a liberal policy towards the Museum. Courses of lectures were delivered, afternoon teas and receptions were given, and every social device was resorted to to advance the project. If a new collection was

purchased or a new "find" was received from expeditions in the field, it was made an excuse for summoning not only society, but the public officials of the city and of the State, and thus year by year public interest was stimulated and strengthened, and the gatherings eager to inspect the collections increased in number and importance. The science of archæology not only became better understood, but for a time its pursuit became the fashion. Public entertainments in support of the Museum were given in the summer at some of the suburban hotels, and in the winter young people danced and acted in amateur theatricals for its benefit.

Dr. Pepper's views on popularizing such a project are given in a letter of August 25, 1893:

"You are absolutely right as to the immense value of advertising. The Romanists do it to perfection. They have at least one representative on every important paper. That is better than a separate paper, for that excites jealousy. We must have a friend on each. We can pay for them in divers coin. The journalist clan is a wonderfully close and loyal one. The more the Museum is talked of by them, and not merely in the way of dry, pseudo-scientific articles, but of stimulating social notices, the more it will be talked of by the people, mayor and councilmen like the rest, and the more it will be believed in. I am sure this policy is good, and I hope you will have it kept up steadily, though not too obstructively, for we must not let them commit us to more than we can accomplish. What we must have, if possible, is the ground. We had better not move until late in September or October 1st. We must warn our friends that the matter is not to be brought up now. We can readily show much good to come from this, so that the city is justified in granting land."

He was able to measure the change gradually wrought upon public sentiment when one day an old councilman,

who had been antagonistic to some of the legislation which he had been urged to support, gave it as one of his personal grievances that no invitation had been sent to him for the reception of the Archæological Department. Dr. Pepper at once requested that a personal note be written him, begging him to come and bring his family. The secretary of the Board did more: she called to see him, and had a pleasant talk with him on Museum matters. He eventually became friendly; at any rate, he voted for the next Museum measure brought before Councils.

No one understood better than Dr. Pepper the value of making a duty pleasant and kindling a glow of personal pride and satisfaction in his co-workers. No effort on his part seemed too great to show his appreciation of their co-operation, and his refined nature, combined with his rare gifts of perception, enabled him to deal with each man according to his special needs, without the slightest suggestion of a vulgar return for services rendered.

It was here that his medical skill and marvellous power of diagnosis came into full play. He understood human nature. To his delicate touch in handling men was due much of the success of the multitudinous and difficult undertakings which he carried through. He knew that in dealing with a public man, when endeavoring to claim his personal interest, he had to deal with his immediate environment; that, however cool-headed a business man might be in his office, once he left it he was subject to an entirely different set of influences which must be counted with. He went to see a man at his office, but he also dealt with him as a human being, as a father, as a husband, as a friend, and tried to create about him an atmosphere friendly to his own undertakings.

This was made easy by the inexhaustible kindliness and

sympathy of his nature. He seldom indulged in banal civilities which form the small coin of society. He rarely sent presents at stated times, unless to such people as would be likely to lay serious stress upon such omissions; but should a man who had helped him be ill, in trouble or disgrace, whether a magnate, a politician, or a common employee, he was sure to get a kind word, or, it may be, practical help from Dr. Pepper. Here again his medical training influenced his philosophy, and caused him to look upon human shortcomings as upon natural phenomena. "Yes, life is the same everywhere," he wrote, in 1898,[1] in answer to a description of human weakness as seen in a foreign city. "We give ugly names to what men and women do, but they are the uniform expressions of life varied under different circumstances and combinations."

He had enemies, as every successful public man who is true to a cause must have, but the great public knew and trusted him. They trusted his skill as a physician, his judgment and honor as a leader, and his sympathy and justice as a man. No one of his rank of life was better known by the people; no one had more friends in every class of society. From the railroad president to the merest gatekeeper, all stood ready to do him a service. And thus it was that in his latter years, whenever he advocated a measure before Councils, the Legislature, or Congress, the only serious obstacles with which he met were based upon political or factional expediency. If this was out of the way he had the good-will of every party.

In 1893, in the name of the Trustees, Provost Pepper applied to the city for the grant of eight acres of land adjoin-

[1] February 15.

ing the University grounds and already reserved for a park by a city ordinance of 1883,[1] to establish thereon a Free Museum of Science and Art and a Botanic Garden. In 1893, however, the average Philadelphia councilman found difficulty to understand why city ground, worth $30,000 an acre, and a part of which at the time was used to supply cabbages to the Almshouse, should be diverted in favor of so unproductive an enterprise as a Museum of Archæology; nor were the city fathers alone in this view. The whole of the year 1893 was, therefore, spent by those in charge of the movement in a fruitless effort to demonstrate to the public that the Board of Public Charities was paying an extravagant price for its vegetables. A powerful opposition had been created by this Board. Some of its members saw in the proposed encroachment a renewel of the attempt, periodically made by Dr. Pepper, to obtain the removal of the paupers and insane from their overcrowded and unhygienic quarters, and their transfer to some suburban district where they could be given proper care and wholesome employment. Nor was this apprehension a mistaken one, and it must be said that the hope of accomplishing this long-desired object added a powerful incentive to the great physician's efforts to obtain the coveted land.

Strenuous efforts were put forth throughout the year, but in the autumn success seemed more doubtful.

"We must have the dormitories," wrote Dr. Pepper,[2] "we must have the Museum; with them we are complete. I feel more and more clear that after securing the ground, or still more if we are defeated there, we should apply for $25,000 for an extension to the Library and have our Museum in shape at once. Then it would

[1] See p. 181, ante.

[2] October 18–23, 1893.

quickly be seen how fine it is; how inadequate the accommodations and how necessary the new building. The University would refund what we have spent on the addition to the Library. We ought to have a building by next October and have our exhibits in place for that year's campaign."

If the effort to secure the Blockley land failed, he suggested, as an alternate plan, to locate the Museum on the old athletic field, south of the Wistar Institute, where the dormitories now stand. None of these makeshifts, however, were satisfactory to the building committee, and every available influence was concentrated upon the one end. Prominent citizens, political leaders, ward politicians good naturedly went to work. At last success was achieved by a most active and earnest campaign led by Dr. Pepper. The mayor of the city, on March 30, 1894, approved the ordinance of Councils granting the tract of eight acres applied for by the committee, and made it over to the University to be used as a site for a Free Museum of Science and Art and for a Botanical Garden. This trust was formally accepted by the Board of Managers of the Museum, who, feeling that their responsibility now involved a closer relation to the municipality, by unanimous vote added as *ex-officio* members to their Board the mayor, the president of both branches of Councils, and the president of the Park Commission. At the same time the Board of Trustees of the University was requested by the Department to authorize an application to the Legislature of the State for an appropriation to be expended in the erection of the great Museum building. These actions were duly ratified by a resolution of the Board of Trustees, in accordance with which preliminary steps were at once taken by the Department of Archæology to apply to the Legislature

at its next session for an appropriation of two hundred thousand dollars, to be applied to the construction of a Museum building.

Before resigning the Provostship, Dr. Pepper had endeavored, as far as possible, to anticipate the possibility of any difficulty which the change of administration might place in the way of the Museum. His efforts in this direction were not wholly successful.

In 1895 the University authorities for the first time resolved to apply to the State Legislature for an appropriation towards the general provisions of the institution. By this action the Department of Archæology, which, acting under the above-mentioned authority from the Trustees, had vigorously pressed its claim at Harrisburg, was for a brief period unexpectedly placed in an awkward attitude of apparent opposition to the University. After considerable discussion, however, an adjustment was arrived at between the Trustees of the University and the Board of Managers of the Department of Archæology, by which a united effort was made, under private agreement, that one hundred and fifty thousand dollars of the appropriation to be secured by the University —whatever its amount—should be assigned to the construction of the Museum building.

The act of Assembly of July 5, 1895, granted two hundred thousand dollars to the University, on condition that an equal amount should be raised by private subscription. These terms having been more than complied with, one hundred and fifty thousand dollars of the amount was paid over to the Museum as agreed, and the work of construction was begun in earnest.

The progress of the work, however, soon received another serious check. The entire lot of ground between Spruce

Street, Blockley Lane, Thirty-fourth Street, and the railroad tracks covered about twelve acres, of which the eight acres meted out to the Museum were included within an awkwardly uneven outline, drawn in order to preserve to the Almshouse the control of an eminence or mound on which stood a picturesque stone barn, then used as a stable. When the architects[1] began a practical study of their subject, it was found that it would be impossible to erect the section of the projected Museum on the northwest corner of the lot unless the building was placed on a line with the street. Under such conditions nothing impressive could be accomplished.

The matter was a serious one, for it involved the entire architectural effect of the structure. After prolonged consideration of the subject, it was resolved to make another effort to obtain from Councils one more acre of land, which would give the width needed for the erection of the western wing of the Museum at a suitable distance from the street. Mayor Stuart had been succeeded by Mayor Warwick, a man of scholarly tastes, whose sympathies were easily aroused when educational interests were involved. When the matter was laid before him, he quickly perceived the absurdity of permitting a barn to impede the progress of an undertaking of such importance to the city, and he undertook to adjust the matter with the Board of Charities and Correction. Accordingly, with comparatively little trouble an ordinance of Councils was passed in October, 1895, by which the barn and the land on which it stood were made over to the University on the same terms as the former grant. "I was in West Philadelphia to-day," wrote Dr. Pepper to Mrs. Steven-

[1] Messrs. Wilson Eyre, Cope & Stevenson, Frank Miles Day & Bro.

son, October 8, a few days after the ordinance was passed. "The old barn, *our* barn, now looks beautiful in my eyes. Let us guard it and fit it up as a museum and use our money to maintain it and conduct our great explorations. I love it as fondly as L—— did last Thursday; now he hates it and you and me; but we will get the rest of the land all the same." Curiously enough, a few days after this letter was written the barn was accidentally burned down, thus settling the question of its future uses in a manner satisfactory, if not to Dr. Pepper, at least to those in charge of the projected building.

The campaign which culminated in the acquisition of the barn site represented nearly two years of tiresome labor. But whatever the difficulties overcome, a radical change had taken place in the attitude of the public towards the University since 1869, when Common Councils after a prolonged fight grudgingly sold to the University eight acres of land at fifteen thousand dollars an acre.[1] And this change in public sentiment was entirely due to Dr. Pepper's wise policy, patience, and singleness of purpose. A few malcontents[2] were still found who stigmatized the result as another University "land grab," but there was rejoicing in many quarters over the successful ending of the prolonged struggle. And yet no site could appear more unpromising than the piece of land now turned over to the University. Most of it had been a dumping-ground for years, and the refuse formed a steep, rugged slope to the railroad track. Goats roamed over it, feeding here and there on the scanty green patches among the ash-heaps, and broken bricks and old shoes were strewn over the uneven surface.

One gray March day, in 1894, Dr. Pepper and Mrs.

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[1] See p. 166.

[2] *Taggart's Times.*

Stevenson, with Mr. Justus C. Strawbridge, whom they were anxious to interest in the project, and to whom they wished to show the new land, met by appointment at the end of South Street bridge. A strong east wind blew from the river, and the whole outlook was hopelessly dismal. Mr. Strawbridge stood looking over the dreary waste, whilst Dr. Pepper enthusiastically explained the glorious possibilities offered to his view by the wretched stretch of land before them. With each passing train a dense black smoke rolled up in sooty masses, enveloping railroad tracks, goats, and refuse in a black mist, whilst blasts of coal gas smothered the lungs of the visitors. Mr. Strawbridge gravely listened to Dr. Pepper's vivid description. He even nodded in courteous approval as the complete plan, at an estimated cost of over two millions of dollars, was explained to him; but his face wore a perplexed expression. As Dr. Pepper turned away for a moment to call the attention of a passing policeman to trespassers, Mr. Strawbridge whispered to his companion: "I cannot bear to throw cold water on Dr. Pepper's enthusiasm; but what an extraordinary site for a great museum! Of course, I would like to help him; but what a site!"

Wholly unaware of the criticism which had been passed upon his valued possession, Dr. Pepper resumed the thread of his thoughts. With the sublime faith that carried him through his most difficult ventures, he pointed out the line where high retaining-walls would guard the property from the railroad bed and the point where graded terraces would lead the way to the level ground. He eloquently described the imposing buildings of the Philadelphia Commercial Museums, which were to extend beyond, and drew attention to the great quay along the Schuylkill River, which some

day must convert the low, swampy ground into a part of the vast improved site, with which connection would be maintained by a series of bridges over the railroad tracks. It was all clear enough to *him*, and little by little, as he spoke, his faith took on the ring of prophecy, and Mr. Strawbridge began to yield. "I will send for Olmstead," he said, as Dr. Pepper paused. "I will have him examine this ground, see how best it can be turned to account, and I will bear the expense." And he did. Some weeks later all three met again, with Mr. Olmstead, at the same place, and a preliminary plan was drawn, which no doubt will be carried out in time. Dr. Pepper's earnestness had won even so practical and sagacious a business man as Mr. Strawbridge. As chairman of the Committee on Grounds, with Mr. Samuel F. Houston as his associate, he at once took hold of the project, and four years had hardly gone by before the skill of the architects had transformed a part of the once unsightly waste land into beautiful approaches to the new edifice.

In 1894 Dr. Pepper resigned the Provostship. Under his masterly management the institution had developed to a point where it must claim his entire time to the exclusion of all other interests. He might have struggled on a few years longer, but he felt that the creative period of the University as planned by himself was over. The time had come when he could lay down the burden with honor and leave to a new leader the task of opening the coming era of development. His resolve was wise, yet it was not without a severe inward struggle that he brought himself to act upon it. The winter of 1893-94 was spent in setting all his affairs in order, preparatory to retiring from the Provostship. Only those closest to him knew of the travail of his soul before the announcement was made public, and very few among these

were allowed to read his innermost thoughts on that commencement day when he retired from his academic trust.

The proud record of his administration, as told by Dr. Furness, has already been narrated.[1] That administration was now a thing of the past; and at the conclusion of the eloquent story Dr. Pepper walked out of the Academy of Music a simple professional man in private life, divested of the glamour of office and of the power which direction and patronage give. He went through the ordeal with simple dignity; his face was never more imperturbable. He knew that he was doing the right and wise thing, and he was content. But when it was over, he went to the house of a friend, and, exhausted by the prolonged strain, threw himself on a lounge, and exclaimed, "I felt on that stage as though I was assisting at my own funeral and Furness was delivering my funeral oration."

When, early in the year 1894, he formally announced his intention of resigning,[2] his relations with many of the members of the Board governing the Department of Archæology had assumed a character of personal friendship. To them the thought of losing him as a leader seemed a calamity, and a strong effort was made to retain his interest. At a meeting of the University Archæological Association, called on April 4, 1894, the chairman of the Museum Committee arose and made the following statement:

"I wish to draw the attention of those present to the fact that, although Dr. Pepper created this Association and the Department of Archæology of the University, and although he has constantly been the most active member of our Board, giving us the fullest benefit of his experience, influence, and financial support, he has

[1] See p. 333, ante.

[2] April 23.

done this only in his *ex-officio* capacity as Provost of the University. In the face of his much-to-be-regretted resignation, his connection with us virtually ceases, and I move that the University Archæological Association expresses its thanks to him for the many services which he has rendered to the cause of archæology in this city, and its hope that he will continue his interest in the future progress of our work. I also move that Dr. Pepper be elected a member of the Board of Managers of the Department."

Shortly after this the Honorable Charlemagne Tower, Jr., announced his earnest desire to resign the office of president of the Board of Managers if Dr. Pepper would accept it, at the same time expressing his willingness to serve under him as vice-president, or in any other capacity, and promising his continued support.

Strong pressure was brought to bear upon Dr. Pepper to induce him to accede to this. There were powerful reasons for his doing so. At this time the Philadelphia Museums, of which he was the founder, were in a formative stage. By an ordinance of Councils, signed by the Mayor on June 15, 1894, a Board of Trustees had been formed, of which Dr. Pepper had been elected president, and to which several of the more active members of the Department of Archæology had been appointed. The importance of maintaining close and friendly relations between the two institutions about to be established on adjoining sites of city ground was represented to him. These had originally been planned by him to form a great museum system, connected on the one hand with the city and on the other with the University,[1] and

[1] In Dr. Pepper's mind, at the time of their foundation, the Philadelphia Museums were to stand to the future Schools of Commerce and of Pedagogy of the University in a relation similar to, though

together to form a strong allied group of scientific plants of a scope unsurpassed in any American community. By his remaining at the head of both institutions much of the original plan might still be carried out.

The opportunity for entering a broader sphere of civic usefulness seems to have appealed to his imagination, or perhaps, after the heavy burden of responsibility had been lifted from his shoulders, the crushing weight of which he had sought to throw off by resigning the Provostship of the University, he, like many public men before him, had felt lost, and missed the outlet for his over-trained energies. Rest had long since grown irksome to him, and an activity bordering upon restlessness had become his second nature. However this may be, he returned to active life and threw himself heart and soul into the new work. He at once enlarged the original plan of the Free Museum of Science and Art and provided for a more imposing structure. He raised his own subscription to $50,000. His liberality was soon emulated by others, and the section of the edifice in process of erection at his death, and which was thrown open to the public on December 20, 1900, represented an outlay, including the furniture, of $385,331. This does

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closer than, that which the Municipal Hospital bore to its Medical Department. They were to be city institutions, maintained by the municipality, but used for educational purposes by the University, whose scientific staff might be drawn upon when necessary. In furtherance of this plan the Professor of Botany of the University had been appointed Director of the Philadelphia Museums. The then projected Museum of Pedagogy remained undeveloped, the Commercial Museum eventually having absorbed the entire interest of the community.

not include the value of the land, which is reckoned at $250,000.

It is estimated that the completed plan, when carried out, will represent an expenditure of $2,500,000. Meantime the scientific material of the Museum as well as its responsibilities had increased beyond all expectation. In 1893 Dr. Pepper had deemed it wise for the University to be worthily represented among the educational exhibits made at the Columbian Exposition at Chicago, and with a view to making the display distinctive, it was decided that the Department of Archæology should contribute the greater part of the exhibit. An appeal for funds was made, but the financial responsibility was eventually assumed by Dr. Pepper and Mr. Tower. The unique character of the display attracted wide-spread attention.

Among many valuable gifts received at this time, a most important accession was the collection from the cliff-dwellers of Colorado, exhibited at Chicago, which, at Dr. Pepper's suggestion, was purchased by Mrs. Phebe A. Hearst, of California, who generously presented it to the Museum.

Although difference of opinion among members of the Babylonian expedition to Nippur led to the return, after the first season, of all save Dr. Peters, Mr. Haynes, and Mr. Noarian, results had been obtained during the second year that warranted the continuance of the work. Mr. Haynes was therefore left in charge, and a new fund was raised to carry on the excavation for another term of three years (1893–96). This brought the fund subscribed up to that date to $70,000.[1] In prosecuting this work, Dr. Pepper and Messrs. E. W. Clark and C. H. Clark assumed the

[1] It has since reached about $125,000.

financial responsibility of the undertaking,[1] whilst Dr. H. V. Hilprecht became its Director.

This is not the place to go into details as to the rich scientific results of the expedition. These are attested by the fine volumes of Babylonian and other texts now in course of publication by Dr. H. V. Hilprecht. A brief indication of their value may be found in Dr. John P. Peters's narrative.[2] It is sufficient here to say that, taken as a whole, the work has done credit to those who organized and maintained it, and that Dr. Pepper's foresight in securing the rich prize for the University of Pennsylvania has been fully demonstrated.

The work of the American section was also widely extended. In 1893, Dr. C. C. Abbott having resigned, Mr. H. C. Mercer was in his place appointed Curator of the Section of American and Prehistoric Archæology. His work among the caves of America, which was pursued as far as Yucatan,—although principally productive of negative evidence as to the association of man's remains with those extinct fauna in the caves of this continent,—was of serious importance.

In 1895–96, Colonel Durnford having reported the existence of interesting remains on the coast of Florida, near Tarpon Springs, Dr. Pepper at once took steps to investigate them. An expedition was organized, the expense of which

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[1] The first Babylonian Expedition, February 6 to April 15, 1889; second, January 14, 1890, to May 3, 1890; third, April 11, 1893, to February 15, 1896; fourth, February 6, 1899, and the work still going on.

[2] "Nippur, or Exploration and Adventures on the Euphrates: the Narrative of the Explorations of the University of Pennsylvania, 1889–1890." G. F. Putnam & Sons, 1897.

was defrayed jointly by himself and Mrs. Phebe A. Hearst. By special agreement with the Bureau of Ethnology at Washington, the expedition was placed under the direction of the late Frank Hamilton Cushing, with the understanding that the Smithsonian Institution should receive duplicates when such were found, and should publish the scientific results of the expedition, to be known as "The Pepper-Hearst Expedition." These results—*i.e.*, the discovery, at Key Marco and Key Demorey, of Ancient Floridan pile dwellings and of a highly specialized civilization—created a profound sensation among Americanists. It is to be regretted that Mr. Cushing's death occurred before the publication of the Memoir upon the discoveries which promised to be of so much interest to scholars. The manuscript, however, is stated to be in such shape as to warrant the hope that it may soon be published. Having heard, whilst in Chicago, that Dr. Maximilian Uhle's notable work in Peru and Bolivia, for the Berlin Museum, was at an end, the chairman of the Museum Committee, Mrs. Stevenson, urged upon Dr. Pepper the expediency of taking this well-known archæologist into the service of the Department, thus avoiding the expense of the journey and equipment. Dr. Bastian, of Berlin, having consented to the arrangement, Dr. Pepper, Mr. Charles H. Cramp, and Mr. Tower made themselves responsible for the cost of the first year's contract, and Dr. Uhle transferred his services from the Berlin Museum to the Department of Archæology of the University of Pennsylvania. The expedition lasted three years, during which extensive collections were made and important excavations were conducted on the site of the Temple of the Sun at Pachacamac. Here interesting discoveries were made, an illustrated report of which is now in process of publication. The expenses of the last

two years of the expedition were borne entirely by Dr. Pepper.

In the Egyptian field the result of the relations established, in 1891, with the Egyptian Exploration Fund on the one hand and Mr. W. M. Flinders on the other, had proved so eminently satisfactory that for the time it was not deemed wise to divert interest from other fields in order to undertake an independent expedition. Interesting authentic series were sent to Philadelphia from year to year illustrative of the arts and industries of the inhabitants of the Nile Valley, and the Egyptian collection, carefully studied, classified, and labelled, gradually came to be one of the first, if not the first, in this country. The responsibility of raising the funds necessary for the work of the section after the first year had been entirely assumed by Mrs. Stevenson. In 1894, after traces of extensive and close intercourse existing between Egypt and the Mediterranean area at a remote period had been revealed by the discoveries of Dr. Petrie and others, the Mediterranean field of research was added to the section.[1] A typical collection, carefully classified, derived from the excavations of Dr. Max Ohnefalsch Richter in Cyprus, was obtained, and the following year, Dr. Pepper and Mrs. Stevenson having been invited to represent Philadelphia on the Committee of the Archæological Institute of America in charge of the projected School of Classical Studies at Rome, arrangements were perfected with Professor Arthur L. Frothingham, Assistant Director of the School, to organize excavations to be conducted under his supervision in the Etruscan region. Again Dr. Pepper made himself personally responsible for the outlay. Eventually, however, Mrs. Phebe A. Hearst having

[1] October 15, 1894.

become interested in this branch of the work, it was prosecuted in the name of the American Exploration Society, at her expense. As a result a superb collection was brought together from tombs ranging from the earlier burials of the Villanova type to the chamber tombs of later times opened at the Necropoles of Narce, Vulci, Chiusi, Albano, Toscanella, and other sites; and important objects of special interest were obtained by purchase to supplement the series and to make it truly illustrative of the civilization of the ancient inhabitants of Italy.

In 1896, after a visit to Italy, Honorable John Wanamaker joined in the work. Several tombs at Orviete, Ardea, and Civita-Castellana were opened at his expense, and important accessions were then made to the series of painted vases. Later a beautiful collection of gold jewelry, purchased by him, was presented to the Museum. It was especially valuable, inasmuch as it completed the illustration of Etruscan arts and industries.

Dr. Pepper did not limit his interest to archæology: he also aimed at developing the section of general ethnology, and never lost an opportunity to promote its progress. The Museum is indebted to him for an extensive collection from the Pacific Islands, known as the Cope collection, as well as for many smaller collections. He wisely discouraged purchases as a matter of policy and devoted his main efforts to the encouragement of original research and scientific expeditions. Indeed, he felt strongly impelled personally to take up some branch of the Museum's work, and was inclined to make anthropology and anthropometry his special care some day, when relieved from the pressure of his many activities. He had long desired to devote himself entirely to science.

With this object in view, in 1893 he made a serious

effort to secure for the University the services of Dr. Franz Boaz, with whose admirable work at the Columbian Exposition he had been strongly impressed. He hoped to perfect a joint arrangement between the Wistar Institute and the Department of Archæology, by which anthropological research might be developed at the Museum and anthropometry might be added to the work of the Institute, both departments to be under the care of Dr. Boas. His plans miscarried, however, and the subsequent arrangements entered upon by Dr. Boas with the American Museum of Natural History were a disappointment to him.[1]

In 1892, when the Australian explorer Carl Lumholtz came to this country with the idea of visiting little-known regions of the Sierra Madre and applied for financial support, Dr. Pepper at once subscribed one thousand dollars to the expedition, which was eventually conducted under the auspices of the New York Museum of Natural History. Thanks to his timely liberality, however, a typical collection was thus secured. On the occasion of Dr. Talcott Williams's expedition to Morocco, Dr. Pepper again took advantage of the opportunity to secure a collection from the Atlas region, and an excellent series was the result of the expedition. In 1897, Mr. McIlhenny, prior to his departure for the northwest coast, called upon Dr. Pepper, who once more manifested his interest by promising three thousand five hundred dollars to the explorer should he pledge himself to collect for the Museum. Although detained at Point Barrow by an unfortunate accident, Mr. McIlhenny brought home a series of considerable interest. When he returned, after a year's absence, Dr. Pepper was no more, but the obligation contracted

[1] This appears in a series of letters on the subject.

by him for the Department was personally assumed by Honorable John Wanamaker, who presented the collection to the Museum.

The above affords but a glimpse of Dr. Pepper's princely generosity and of his untiring and multiplied efforts during the four years of his term as the responsible head of the Museum.

In none of his many activities did the peculiar qualities of his mind shine forth so brilliantly as they did when, after resigning the executive office of the University, he accepted the presidency of the Department of Archæology.

To him this new scientific field presented at every turn special problems which he was called upon to solve; and he had to face numerous difficulties created by unfamiliar national and international connections for which nothing in his previous experience had prepared him. He readily mastered the situation.

He received, of course, efficient assistance, and in his leadership was often guided by the suggestions of others; but, always self-reliant, his powerful mind soon asserted itself, and his clear perceptions enabled him to outlive extensive and original departures in museum management. He mapped out a broad policy of co-operation which, had he lived, must have made a profound impression upon American archæological institutions. Under his administration special working relations were established with the Peabody Museum at Harvard, with the Smithsonian Institution and the Bureau of American Ethnology at Washington, as well as with the Egypt Exploration Fund and the Egyptian Research Account in England. In accepting the presidency of the Pennsylvania Society of the Archæological Institute of America, and in establishing the American Exploration

Society, of which he was also the first President, he planned to link the local interests of the Department of Archæology of the University of Pennsylvania with the general archæological interests of the country. He foresaw a time when the scientific museums of the United States might to their mutual advantage enter into an alliance, and when by working in a closer co-operation they might better perform their function at a minimum cost to the public, by reducing the existing tendency to a duplication of effort.

In the words of his successor, Mr. Baugh:[1] "Thus it was that this eminent physician, burdened with an exacting daily practice, this distinguished author of important medical works, this public-spirited citizen, who was always found in the lead of every progressive movement having for its object the promotion of public education, of public health, and of public prosperity, was finding his place among the advanced thinkers on the subject of museum policy, and, had he lived, must soon have been recognized as one of our leading museum men. In the four brief years of his administration he not only set the stamp of his strong personality upon the scientific conduct of the work, but he obtained from the city the land and appropriations necessary to carry out his museum schemes and privately raised over half a million dollars for their support. And this he did whilst carrying the burden of the many public responsibilities, the success of which testifies to the well-nigh unlimited scope of his public usefulness."

The Free Museum of Science and Art of the University of Pennsylvania was Dr. Pepper's last creation, and it was upon its welfare that, when he felt he was approaching his

[1] See address of Daniel Baugh, Esq., of the Department of Archæology and Paleontology, November, 1898. Memorial Meeting held in the Chapel of the University of Pennsylvania.

[illegible], ARCHAEOLOGICAL MUSEUM, UNIVERSITY OF [illegible]

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PEPPER HALL, ARCHÆOLOGICAL MUSEUM, UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA

end, he bestowed the greatest solicitude.[1] Only twenty days before his death he sought in a codicil added to his will to soften the blow which his possible loss must inflict upon the young institution. This was the last official act of a man who had ungrudgingly sacrificed his life to the public welfare and who had ever shown himself consistently devoted, generous, and thoughtful of others.

[1] His widow, acting upon his expressed wish, has since endowed the "William Pepper Hall" at the Museum with the sum of $50,000.

V

INCIDENTS AND CHARACTERISTICS

1882–1896

EARLY in the year 1882, his child, Thomas Sergeant Pepper, a boy of rare promise, died of diphtheria. In June Dr. and Mrs. Pepper, with their sons William and Benjamin Franklin, sailed from Philadelphia for Liverpool. When two days out, Mrs. Pepper was taken with diphtheria, but under skilful treatment she made a rapid recovery. The captain of the steamship, the "Ohio," Henry Morrison, contributed much to her comfort, having promptly given up the chart-room for her use.

Only a few incidents of this foreign visit are preserved. Dr. Pepper met Matthew Arnold, and he has left a few notes of an interesting conversation about Oxford.

He lunched with Max Müller and his pleasant wife, and had a long conversation over the organization and present tendency of Oxford, with which Müller expressed himself much dissatisfied. There was a jealousy, Müller said, among the colleges towards the university professor. Müller believed that the professorate had declined in dignity and influence,—a calamity which he attributed to the excessive influence of the young Masters of Art. Not long before, he brought to the Commission of Education a plan for advanced fellowships for men of learning who had produced good work, but it had been rejected and the old method approved. Müller no longer thought that Oxford favored real learning, but so far as its influence went made such learning impossible; the

tendency, he said, was towards mediocrity. For all this he blamed the public schools, which, he asserted, badly prepared the boys coming up to college.

Dr. Pepper met William Spottiswood, president of the Royal Society, who invited him to spend Sunday at his country place in Kent, an invitation he was unable to accept. He expressed surprise at the combination of business man and mathematical genius in Spottiswood, who, in reply, remarked that mathematics was his relaxation.

He took luncheon with Sir Henry and Lady Holland. Lady Holland was Macaulay's favorite niece. Lord Holland complained of hard work in Parliament and of insomnia. "He looks overworked," writes Dr. Pepper, "but his immense energy is irresistible." At the time of this visit Lord Holland was Chief Secretary for Ireland. With Lord Playfair, who represented one of the Scotch universities in Parliament, and was chairman of one of the house committees, Dr. Pepper had an interesting conversation on the comparative value of English and Scotch methods of university organization. The distinguished Scotchman firmly believed in the superiority of the Scotch system. He had introduced a bill for improving secondary education in Scotland and had defended it in an able speech. Dr. Pepper thought him "tremendously overworked; not deep or original, but active, energetic, and persevering."

In a letter home, written soon after, he unconsciously gives an insight into his own life: "I have little fear of any man hurting himself by work as long as he has reasonable success. It is the infernal combination of working all day and every day as hard as is in you, and yet finding yourself baffled at every turn, that breaks the heart;" in other words, success is a kind of immortality.

In 1884 he seems to have had in preparation an address on Great Men from a Physician's Stand-point.[1] It is perhaps as well to present the memoranda as he prepared them:

"SLEEP.

"Many platitudes about this; as a fact, many can do with less than eight or even seven [hours] while working hard, provided they recognize the increased risk; that while running their engine they take more scrupulous care with every part of the machinery. Machine must be perfect, fuel ditto; everything must be sacrificed to the one point of keeping the machinery running thus:

"Subjection of carnal, emotional excesses; certainty that no weak spots exist; diet, especially too much eating, too fast eating; stimulants, tobacco, open-air exercises, cool-headed, almost callous, critical analysis of one's self; one's sensations and effect of work on the system; clear knowledge of danger-lines; result, avoidance of transgressing and immediate summons at right time. This involves a clear conscience or a callous one.

"Ability to sleep at will, which no one ever could do with certainty, except on the recognition of a certain stage of mental and body fatigue, which gets to be well known, and the result an unvarying obedience to the call of these sensations, almost with no regard to time, place, or circumstances.

"Humboldt's life in later years—marvellous effects of short naps if taken at the right time; ruinous results of forcing one's self past the danger-signal, of driving the brain when jaded,—*e.g.*, you sit to write at nine P.M., after a fatiguing day; at eleven a great weariness seizes you, etc., of course implies exceptional will power, exceptional self-consciousness, and a work not too much subject to crisis —refer to John F. Meigs's memoir of his father and to my own habits, giving sketch of my life in 1883, for instance—close connection with diet.

[1] MSS. on paper bearing printed date September, 1884.

"Habits of literary men, rather of great men, for almost all great men must be great writers. Genius is the power of sustaining concentrated attention in a rare degree. Times for more actual laborious effort than commonly imagined, of ordinary dietetics and hygiene, are concerned with the average man. For the establishment of their rules no weight attaches to the exceptional individuals in any community who display the highest physical and intellectual health and vigor still pursuing courses of life admissibly injurious. It is now with these exceptional individuals to a considerable extent that we must concern ourselves, and we must consider how it comes to be that [they] are able to disregard apparently the usual rules."

His habit of working all day and every day as hard as was in him may be illustrated by outlining an average day of his life. He arose at a quarter of seven, took a cold sponge bath, and was in his office at 7.15, from which time he dictated letters and opinions for an hour, breakfasting while seeing patients, which together with all sorts of business occupied him till 11.30. His medical lectures, twice a week, occurred at twelve or one, as the roster committee might arrange. Till half-past two he was in consultation, and usually in his office from half-past two until four. His luncheon, always a light one, was taken in his office. He was in consultation till 7.15, excepting the time—usually 5.30 to 6.30, four times a week—given to lectures. He dined often with company at home or elsewhere. He was again in consultation from 8.30 until ten, from which later hour he dictated to one of his stenographers until past midnight, frequently till 2.30. This division of time, with minor variations, was maintained habitually. He insisted that such labor was only possible by moderate, slow eating, thorough chewing, and short naps of five minutes at any time or place.

Some people who did not know him accused him of

merely posing when, before replying to a difficult question involving serious interests, he would say, "Let me sleep five minutes, then waken me and we will talk it over," and rolling up his eyes like a tired child, he would suddenly fall asleep. They did not know the life that he lived; that every minute was crowded with work and that these brief naps were his only means for relaxation.

On one occasion, at a theatre-party which he was giving, after some fifteen minutes, he excused himself, and was gone three-quarters of an hour. Remaining a short time, he excused himself again, and was gone nearly as long. He then returned for a moment, and excused himself a third time. He had appeared at three functions, at two of which he had made formal addresses; the third disappearance was for a consultation. While under great pressure of work he occasionally worked thirty-six or even forty-eight hours without interruption except for a bite of food. This was in the last five years of his life, while he was devoting all his energies to civil affairs.

His election to the Provostship was a fruitful event, largely shaping his own life and that of the city. He undertook the office with the high ideal of co-ordinating the educational opportunities of the city and the State about the University as a centre. This stupendous task was no easier in Philadelphia than in any other conservative community. He found the University a respectable school; he transformed it into a real university,—created thirteen departments, erected above twenty costly and appropriate buildings for its use, increased the Faculty from a corps of ninety to one of nearly three hundred, and the attendance from eight hundred to above twenty-eight hundred. For the endowment and use of the institution he raised over four million dollars, and

added more than forty acres in the heart of the city to its campus. Not least among his services was the co-ordination of the public-school system of the city with the courses in the University.

Meanwhile he planned even larger things, and with characteristic boldness proceeded to execute his program. A great system of museums should be founded, illustrative of commerce, art, science, history, anthropology,—an educational unit, centring about the University and free to the people. It should constitute a unique opportunity, and should be under the care and protection of the municipality. Now, such a program as this might seem possible of execution in a new city, springing up out of the earth in a day, but somewhat chimerical in an old and staid community like Philadelphia. Vested rights are a terrible obstacle to some; they were an opportunity to Dr. Pepper. The story is told that long ago a company of Philadelphians were staying once at a summer hotel, and had retired for an afternoon nap. This was suddenly cut short by a tremendous noise in the hall. One exasperated guest opened her door to expostulate, when she caught sight of a four-year-old boy in pink kilts marching down the hall, armed with two sticks, and alternately beating on the doors and shouting at the top of his lungs: "No one shall sleep in this house this afternoon, I say, if I can help it!" It was William Pepper. Fifty years later the story was told to some friends, one of whom added: "And no one has slept in Philadelphia for years because of that same William Pepper." He levied tribute right and left, on all sorts and conditions of men, and acted withal in a strikingly bold and irresistible way. After some thirty years of such action his public account stood something like this:

Institutions founded: the University Hospital, the Commercial Museums, and the Philadelphia Free Library. Institution reorganized and recreated: the University of Pennsylvania. Public reforms: the improvement of the city's water supply and an entire change in the attitude of the public mind towards education and the ideals of life. To carry out these plans Dr. Pepper raised above ten million dollars and secured about a hundred acres of land from the municipality, lying near the heart of Philadelphia. To the execution of this task he gave the service of one of the most acute and at the same time the most practical minds ever vouchsafed to man. To this service of his genius he added the personal gift of nearly half a million dollars, which he earned in the practice of an exacting profession. It may be doubted whether any other American has run a like career.

He did not escape the penalty of his devotion to work. Life became an arduous routine, in large labors it is true, but, notwithstanding, routine. He enjoyed his social relations, but made a nice division of time in attending to them; often complaining of the endless and pitiless dinners which he had to attend, but finding comfort in their results, which usually were the awakening of interest in some new ally who would give aid and support to one or more of the many enterprises in which he was engaged.

"Do you know a danger which I now foresee?" inquired he in a letter to a friend early in 1893. "It is the rekindling of my enthusiasm. It used to burn in my heart like a red-hot iron. For twenty years I hid it beneath my coat. No one then believed in the future of the University. Men smiled maliciously to my face and insulted me behind my back. I lost most of the friends of my youth; true, loyal, sincere men, united to me by youthful

vows to devote our lives to lift science and education and the level of municipal life here. One after another they left me by the way, overwhelmed by weariness, contempt, or weakness. I feel old and solitary, but cheerful and joyous enough. Willingly I would live each hour of these long years, errors, falls, sores, for the pleasure of seeing to-day others more carefully equipped than I was enter the arena and continue the struggle. They all assure me that the hour to withdraw has arrived; for, after all, that work has not been even half of my life. There remains the study of the higher science of medicine, which requires strength, money, and devotion." [1]

The awakening of his ambition undoubtedly shortened his life, but it resulted in the creation of the Free Public Library, the Commercial Museums, and the Free Museum of Science and Art. These institutions were the crown of his career. They embodied the culmination of a life of labor devoted to the highest ideals and were the logical result of such a life as he had lived. When he decided to retire from the government of the University, he realized correctly the unique opportunity before him. As Provost of the University his efforts could not with many persons awaken sympathy and support. They were not interested in the establishment of new departments in the University; that field was an old one, and had been more or less thoroughly worked; but they could not resist the attractions of new enterprises in perhaps a larger field such as Dr. Pepper could now open before them. He had thoroughly exploited the private wealth of Philadelphia in his services to the University, but all along there had been a group of men of large wealth who had stood aloof from the institution and who

[1] MS. letter in French to Mrs. Cornelius Stevenson.

wielded extraordinary power in the world of affairs. Their wealth was increasing at an enormous rate. They were men of keen perception and liberal views. Dr. Pepper looked to them for support in his new undertakings.

The last five years of his life were consumed in a campaign among these, who were approached in a thousand ways. He appealed to their public spirit, to their personal pride, to their love of family, and, above all, to their sound judgment as friends of science and art. The response was immediate and generous. They gave him nearly three-quarters of a million dollars. No other man would have commanded their support.

A greater labor was the political campaign on behalf of the Library and the Museums. Land must be obtained from Councils upon which to locate buildings, and this land must be near the University. In order to influence Councils, politicians of national repute must be reached and the political machine in Pennsylvania be set in motion to the advantage of the new enterprise. Of the two campaigns,—one among men and women of wealth, the other among politicians,—the second was far the more laborious and exhausting. With men of the former class he could deal directly and could depend on what they said. Indirection and insincerity awaited him as soon as he turned to the politicians. But he did not hesitate. He knew quite as well as Horace Walpole, that every man has his price. With some it was social position, with others, an office or a name. Whatever the price, Dr. Pepper had the courage to face the situation and to utilize the man if possible. The amount of personal canvassing which he did was amazing, but it was made possible only by turning night into day and, as it were, by lengthening the hours.

His interest in the intellectual growth of the city had been quickened by the labors of a lifetime, and in all questions looking towards better conditions and a higher civic life he could not be a passive spectator. There could be no rest for such a spirit. Rest, such as other men usually seek, to him was not merely distasteful, but painful.

The University was to him the dearest thing on earth, because it embodied the ideals of his life. His passion for it can be understood only by those whose lives have been cast for a long period in higher educational work. For a short time he committed the error of fancying that his retirement from the Provostship would seriously affect his standing in the world. He greatly overestimated the importance of the office. Like all men who have built up an institution, he was doubtful of the continuance of its prosperity under other hands; and here he was at odds with one of the working principles of his life, expressed by him many times in the saying, "Men die; institutions live."

With all his wonderful penetration he was unable to see that for all practical purposes the University could be carried on without him. He had set the pace of its progress, and henceforth a hesitating or palsied step in its career could not fail to be detected by the world. He thought of it as a child,—as a father thinks of a fair daughter whom he hesitates to give into the keeping of another. All these thoughts swept in upon him as he contemplated resigning, and they cost him some painful moments. But from the dark moods into which they plunged him he returned to light and a calm judgment, as he thought of the work he had done in the University, of the intimate relations which he had established between it and the city, and of the larger work which the training of long years had prepared him now to do.

A year before his retirement he fought out the battle; he made his decision. "To-night I know all is right," he wrote, "I can sleep and awaken gay and strong once more."[1] But his gayety and strength were soon put to the test. He was an old man, though still young in years; his health was breaking, and from this time until the end he never knew a well day.

"The days are few," he writes, "and the crush of work makes them short. So little accomplished: 'the petty done, the undone vast.' I must work harder. The very rich people are nearly all a little trying. One must be a duke to bear a long rent roll and yet be as easy as an old shoe. When the opposition begins to abuse and threaten, I really feel success is very likely."

"It is very disturbing," he writes again, on receiving the news of the death of Mr. Anthony J. Drexel. "A few years ago what great hopes all would have had; now, of course, whatever is done must and should be altogether for the Drexel Institute. His death will make a great difference, and will be a great loss to Philadelphia. It must cause a shaking of the centre of gravity. How close these little incidents are beginning to come to me and some of the rest, notwithstanding which I do not doubt I shall live to be a hundred. I read this morning, at 5.30, the biography and autobiography of Sterne, in the introduction to his works; admirable, candid and brief. So little difference any of us really make."[2]

But this confession of immortality did not diminish his zeal. Millionaires die; the work of the world must go on.

No small part of the new campaign was to discover new men, and Dr. Pepper's letters abound at this time in reference to the results of his search for them. One young man of great wealth, who spent his time "in sleep, tennis, and dancing,

[1] MS., June 13, 1893.

[2] MS., July 1, 1893.

but no work," Dr. Pepper persuaded to abandon coffee, tobacco, and wine, and literally made a new man of him. His history is epitomized in one sentence: "He will do excellent work."[1]

Wherever he might be he carried the campaign with him. At Northeast Harbor, amidst the pleasures of vacation, new recruits were assiduously secured.

"It is the drollest little place," he writes. "Quakers, Unitarians; all the sects are here. I am re-reading Sterne; he does me great good. I cannot wonder that Jefferson said his writings were for him the best code of morals ever written. Another thing I like about him is his humorous use of the old metaphysical notion of the inherent qualities of matter. Uncle Toby rode his hobby-horse so hard 'because he had so much hobby-horsical matter in his make-up;' pretty near the truth. It would make not a stiver of difference if I were to learn sure that death is to be the end-all and the be-all of the business; the work is here; there is value in it. It will help others; we cannot let it alone undone, or we should be more unhappy than as it is. Let us leave teleology alone. Let us not try to look too far ahead. How delicious are the pangs and quakes and then the glow of repulse! Let us put our standard up so high we cannot possibly succeed fully, but we shall have many delightful moments over partial achievement."[2]

Rest and recuperation from the New England air were not long his portion. His professional calls were loud and exacting. He speaks of "sixty hours of hard travel and travail in intense heat to attend a consultation," and complicated business of all sorts occupied him night and day. To work ceaselessly till one o'clock in the morning and to resume it at half-past six were common with him. A hun-

[1] MS., July 9, 1893.

[2] MS., July 9, July 17, 1893.

dred letters written and half as many telegrams were not unusual. He gave his supporters no rest. They were summoned to him from all over the country. He was a man with a program. In this way everybody was reached, and few failed to respond. Most men who seek rest in vacation in the Canadian woods or in New England cannot say, as did Dr. Pepper, that they are always happy when the vacation months are over. To him the taking of pleasure was a somewhat irksome task. He never learned how to enjoy life like other men.

In July, 1893, came the encouraging returns from his new volume, *The Text-Book of Medicine*, but of deeper interest to him than his books was the direction he was giving to the archæological work of the University,—the excavations at Nippur and in other quarters of the globe. The expedition's discoveries had been well received among scholars in Europe. "I count on that," wrote Dr. Pepper, "to fire up languid spirits in November after the pendulum has swung back a bit;" this written in July, 1893, in the midst of the panic of that year. For a few days during September he gave himself unreservedly to the enjoyment of the Columbian Exposition. He was accompanied by his sons and a nephew; and he frequently referred afterwards to the unalloyed pleasures of this outing.

While at Northeast Harbor he indulged in rather vigorous exercise, especially rowing. It often made his hands "tremble like leaves," though it hardened him and built up his health. In August, 1893, he speaks of himself as being "perfectly well, brown, and strong," and as "going off on a row of many miles in the evening." But he never cared for systematic exercise, depending rather for health upon abstemiousness, moderation, and care. He conserved his physical

energies rather than exercised them. The amusements at such a place as Northeast Harbor palled upon him. "It is a tiresome place," he writes, "and too far away, and the telegraph people can neither read nor write."[1] His mind was ever turning to the centre of his activity, Philadelphia; there he was happiest.

He was a believer in advertising; he knew its immense value. His relations with newspaper men were cordial and, with a few, intimate. Through them he felt the public pulse. His policy was twofold: to keep matters out of the newspapers as well as to put matters in. The first is often of greater importance. University news was more or less carefully edited before it was suffered to appear in print. The censorship was complete and fruitful.

His civic services brought him in touch with all sorts and conditions of reformers, some of whom made grotesque demands upon him. His ideas of reform would not have pleased the more ardent iconoclasts could they have known them. Thus, speaking of the Municipal League:[2]

"Their purpose seems to be the old business of putting up special candidates for special little offices, spending a lot of money, and getting licked like thunder. That is what has kept me off from all these reform movements; that, instead of earnest educational work, such as the Civic Club is doing, and Brinley is doing for University Extension, they go into ward politics."

Therefore, he put himself in touch with the regular party leaders,—with the machine. He knew that he could not divert these leaders nor control the machine; therefore, like a wise man, he preferred to utilize both as he found them.

[1] MS., August 25, 1893.

[2] MS., February, 1894.

Then, too, his inborn conservatism drove him to this course. Experience went a long way with him, and especially the experience of others.

His conservatism as to reforms and reformers was a source of grave trial to him, and he was frequently brought to the test in his campaign among politicians on behalf of the Museums. He found ward politics rather a nasty game, played by men who were like Charles II. in Rochester's famous epigram. The two most exasperating things in life are lies and insults; the latter probably the more endurable. Dr. Pepper found that professional politicians, though they did not lie to him, did not tell him the truth, or do as they promised. The political campaign for the Museums was, therefore, more or less a game of chance, and he did not hesitate to believe that some with whom he was playing played with loaded dice.

It is a humiliating condition of affairs that great enterprises depend upon the services of men who have not the remotest notion of the scope and character of the ends they are made to serve. The loaves and fishes of ward politics are their reward. A Free Museum of Science and Art means to them only a piece of work done for the machine. However humiliating this condition of society may seem, it prevails everywhere. It ramifies into the smallest hamlet in the Commonwealth; it thrives in the largest municipality. Dr. Pepper had the courage to face this fact and to act accordingly. Another man, possessing less courage and vision than he, would have shrunk from the contest and given as an excuse his own nice sense of the proprieties. Dr. Pepper's morality was made of sterner stuff; he took men as he found them. His morality was of the Hamiltonian order, addressing itself immediately to the hopes and fears of indi-

viduals and attracting to itself the support of those passions which have the strongest influence upon the human heart.[1] The quality of the man gave occasion for his critics to say that he would have made a famous cardinal in the seventeenth century, another Richelieu or Mazarin. But with him the rules of the game worked completely; he won. Councils granted the site for the Museums, an ample acreage adjoining the University campus; the world applauded; but Dr. Pepper grew older and physically feebler, aging under the exactions of the toil.

Having determined to resign the Provostship, he filled the closing weeks of the academic year, 1893–94, with what he describes as "crushing work." He looked forward to his release with eagerness. His temperament was too sanguine, his foresight too keen and accurate, his knowledge of himself too profound to permit him to vacillate or to indulge in regret. The very momentum of his life carried him forward, and the horizon of the world was always glowing with new and large enterprises. He saw clearly that he could do a large work for the University when he was freed from the Provostship. He could throw all his energies into the execution of a life plan, the co-ordination of the educational opportunities of his native city.

Two days before commencement, 1894, he was seized with one of his quasi-despondent moods.

"I think," he wrote, "I am vain and selfish, and have an exaggerated notion of the value of my years to come. The truth is, I have probably struck twelve; but we shall see. My position is difficult; I will try to do my best."

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[1] *The Federalist*, No. XVI.

At the moment of writing this he was deep in the fight for the Boulevard,—that projected magnificent improvement of the city of Philadelphia which should connect the City Hall and Fairmount Park by a suitable avenue; and he was quite confident that the project would be successful. For a time after he had sent forth his letter of resignation, on the twenty-fourth of April, he had curious fancies: as, that the world greeted him differently than when he was Provost; that even his work as a physician was affected by his resignation. These fancies, the more curious as crowding to the brain of such a man as he, were soon dispelled, and he speedily discovered that in his case the man was greater than the office. The sick and ailing continued to crowd upon him, the vast civic interests in which he was engaged enlarged upon his view, and he discovered that his fate and his fame were not hedged in by the presidency even of a great University. The exacting demands of his consulting practice rolled in upon him without interruption, and he was called hither and yon over the State and adjoining States just as before.

The important thing now was to bring pressure and influence to bear upon City Councils for the acquisition of land as a site for the Commercial Museums and for the Free Museum of Science and Art. Commencement day of June, 1894, was with him the close of an old era and the beginning of a new one. The University chapter was closed; the civic chapter was opening. The struggle now was not merely for a corporation of the University type, devoted to education, but an institution for the benefit of the entire community; the world of industry, science, and art. He desired to found an institution devoted to science and art, such as now, after many centuries, may be seen in any one of the great capitals of Europe.

The difficulties were enormous. In Europe great museums have the support of the government; they are part of the civil organization of society. Their expenses are a fixed element in the budget of the country, and they are looked upon as a permanent organization. With the exception of the Smithsonian Museum, at Washington, and one or two other museums, no institution exists in this country strictly analogous to the European type. Dr. Pepper had to create agencies, and even public sentiment, for the support of such an institution as he had planned. His procedure, in brief, was, first, to secure the potential support of private individuals, and then to make the institution a part of the municipal organization. No other man in Philadelphia could have carried a project of this kind through. He was fortunate in having the sympathy and support of a few men and women of great ability and public spirit.

In the account of the founding of University Extension, the Free Public Library, the Commercial Museum, and the Free Museum of Science and Art, it is shown how dependent Dr. Pepper was upon the vitality and sagacity of his associates. He never claimed that the results which he accomplished were due wholly to his own efforts. His reports as Provost of the University are replete with recognition of the services of his colleagues. The same recognition abounds in the history of the Museum. His peculiar power lay in the co-ordination of agencies; in the uniting of many rivulets of influence into one mighty stream. He was naturally a leader of men, and his unselfishness secured their fidelity. The result was inevitable; committees, Councils, Legislatures yielded before him in recognition of his superior insight as to the best method of promoting the general welfare.

His domestic life was filled with solicitude and affection

for his family, from whom his ceaseless toil for others often isolated him. He always rose early, seldom later than 6.45 o'clock. He wrote his most important letters in his own hand; others were dictated to a stenographer. His breakfast he usually took in his office while in Philadelphia, but when at Newport, Northeast Harbor, or Bay Head, the program of work was modified a little, and he breakfasted with his family. Sometimes he would read a few pages of Lord Chesterfield to his boys. "It amuses them," he writes, "but it requires more than that to impart grace to them." After breakfast, which was usually at eight or 8.30, the stenographer returned and worked with him for three hours; then there was a march to the shore with the boys for a sea-bath. Dinner was served at half-past one, after which he took a drive, or a short walk, with Mrs. Pepper; read a favorite author, or, all too frequently, resumed his work with his stenographer. After eight o'clock he was alone, and usually worked until long past midnight. From this program there was little variation through the summer days. What variation there was consisted in lengthening the hours of labor and shortening those of recreation.

His interest in the progress of his three sons was patient and incessant. The youngest, Oliver Hazard Perry, was more with his father than the two elder sons, who were much of the time at school or in the University; and for Perry he felt a peculiar affection. The boy strongly resembled his father, and intimate friends of the family will long remember delightful glimpses of father and son, inseparable companions, chatting to each other in French and planning all sorts of stupendous enterprises. Whenever Perry was sick his father became a changed man; then, if ever, it was inadvisable to press him or be over-solicitous for

mere affairs. In August, 1894, Perry was taken suddenly sick. "I was utterly upset for forty-eight hours," writes Dr. Pepper. It is needless to say that no one understood his father quite as Perry did.

The last three years of Dr. Pepper's life were years of sleeplessness, pain, and intensity of application. Not seldom does he speak of having no sleep for thirty-six hours or of working from fourteen to nineteen hours consecutively. He was much given to reading, though one wonders when he found time for it. Among his favorite books were the great confessions, as those of Aurelius, and the lesser ones, such as Sterne's bit of autobiography.

"I am glad to have Seneca," he writes. "I do not find any fault with him for the inconsistencies between his conduct and his creed. He was human and not a hypocrite. He tried to see things and men and women as they are. His ideal, his spirit, his code were fine; but he knew his weakness, and did not always keep out of temptation. It is easy to throw over a philosophy which did so little for the philosopher, but I care for it and get good out of it. I think he was striving onward and upward to the end." [1]

Men of action are fond of epigrams and of epigrammatic philosophy.

"I awoke at dawn and read Aurelius," he writes. "I am stronger and calmer than I ventured to hope that I should be for a long time, and I begin to have that clear inner light as to the future which is always common to me when assured of a successful and right course of action. I shall never give myself one moment's worry again about slanderous criticism or treacherous opposition. I know I have the strength to carry through a second life of

[1] MS., August 21, 1894.

large labor and achievement. I feel the fire and ambition of youth coming back." [1]

This was written from Newport at a time when he was resting and recuperating. But these moments of calm and physical rest were few; a week later he is "impatient to get to town," in order to lay hold more effectively on the execution of his plans.

The great struggle was for the land on which to erect the Museum building. The question may here be asked, Why this haste and concentration of activity? Why not work more slowly and win the battle? The answer is, There was no other course to pursue. If the land was to be obtained from Councils, it must be obtained at once. The opposition to Dr. Pepper was bitter, persistent, bold, and powerful. Though this opposition was prolonged, its history is brief: it failed, but its merciless activity shortened Dr. Pepper's life.

While he was exerting himself for the Museums he was laboring with equal energy to secure an appropriation in Councils for the filtration of the city's water supply. Like a good politician, he had faith in omnibus bills, and in order to secure the enactment of his own measures he gave his influence to the furtherance of the measures of others. The close of the year 1894 found him pressing forward a group of interests: the Museums, the Free Library, the filtration plan, and the reorganization of the educational system of the city. The financial elements necessary to the passage of these measures were finally embodied in what was called the Loan Bill, a public measure which, there is no doubt, cost him months, perhaps years, of life.

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[1] MS., September 6, 1894.

The working out of the organization both of the Commercial Museums and of the Free Museum of Science and Art involved the settlement of the relations of both to the University of Pennsylvania. The Museum of Science and Art was to be a part of the University system and yet have an identity all its own. No other man than Dr. Pepper could have secured the final result: co-ordination with the University and practical independence of the Museum. But the result was hard to attain.

From the early spring of 1895 dates the marked failure of his health. His system never again readily shook off even light attacks of disease.

On the twenty-second of March his beloved mother passed away. "She has gone to sleep," he wrote; "quietly and peacefully." His affection for her was one of the deep passions of his life. She lived to witness his triumphs and to see the large place which he filled in the world. In the first sketch of his life which he had written, he referred to her,[1] and the intervening quarter of a century had only intensified the tender feelings which existed between them. Seldom does one see such a mother and such a son. "I could not sleep very well," he wrote on the day following her death, "but I am all right to-day. I would not call her back could I do so. It was a beautiful end of a singularly lovely life."

As the various campaigns progressed, he became convinced that the bill for the reorganization of the Board of Education in Philadelphia, which the Civic Club was actively pushing through the Legislature, was doomed. The Civic Club had taken it up with but little hope of success, for the

[1] See p. 24.

purpose of educating the people to the faults of the present system and to keep the necessity for reorganization before the people. Its president, Mrs. Stevenson, had enlisted Dr. Pepper's interest in the movement, and his powerful influence had been thrown on its side. Introduced by Senator Porter, who had agreed to substitute the Civic Club Compromise Bill for one which he himself had planned to introduce, it passed the Senate, and went through a first reading in the House, where, by an unworthy trick of the Speaker, it was referred, not to the Committee on Education, which was friendly and the legitimate committee, but to the Committee of Municipal Corporations, with an obvious desire to pigeon-hole it until the close of the session. From that moment it was a lost cause: the men who had been eager to support the measure allowed it to fall to the ground.[1]

His physical collapses from this time set in frequently, and he discovered that he could no longer count on his capacity to work; but, though confined to his bed at times, he did not for long cease working; innumerable letters and telegrams were sent and received, and the ponderous machinery of his numerous campaigns was kept in motion. His spells of sickness were shaken off by will power rather than by medicine or rest. He refused to be sick, though his work was enough to break down any man. Even when for a day he was confined to his bed, he maintained his hope and serenity, and gently rebuked an anxious friend: "Never allow one moment to be spoiled by anxiety. What is the use of our hard-won upland of clear sky and pure air if we let fogs obscure?"

An interesting illustration of his attention to details is

[1] May, 1895.

afforded in connection with the projected ordinance for the acquisition of the lands for the Museums. He went carefully over all the relevant pamphlet laws, and practically wrote the entire ordinance himself, every word of which was most carefully weighed.[1] This attention to details was his habit in all matters. When news reached him of Mr. Charles C. Harrison's munificent gift of half a million to the University, he wrote: "This splendid gift would of itself repay me for all the annoyance I have gone through for years." He felt that the great work to which he had given years of life was now made yet more secure.

At this time he was receiving encouraging news in other directions: the appropriation for the Museums from City Councils was assured, and it seemed for a time that the bill for the reorganization and improvement at Blockley—the separation of the paupers and the insane, and the administration of the place as a great municipal hospital—would pass. For the regeneration of Blockley he had been laboring over thirty years, and the end seemed yet a great way off; indeed it did not come in his lifetime. Scattered through his papers were bundles of reports pertaining to Blockley, from the time when he was there at the opening of his practice down almost to the last of his life. That great piece of municipal reform remains yet to be carried out.

The wheels of his activity were turning faster and faster.

"I lecture from half-past five till half-past six," he writes, "and then shall have to go twenty miles to a consultation. I am helpless at this moment and have six hours of dictation ahead of me and strength for only two or three of them. I lectured with tremendous energy to-day; it takes an awful lot out of me. The crisis of

[1] MS., September 15, 1895.

organization once passed in the matter of the Free Museum, the Pepper Laboratory of Hygiene, the City Museums, and the University Museum, Heaven grant that some leisure comes or I must resign my professorship. I could not live as I have lived since my return in September; not one moment have I been free from the lash."[1]

On the heels of this activity came revulsion next day.

"I became so unwell yesterday that I had to cancel my engagements and went to bed early in the evening. I am a little stronger to-day, but am very weary. My work will not let up one instant. I shall go to bed this evening as soon as I return from the country, for I must go for consultation. What is the matter I do not know; as soon as I rest I feel all right. As soon as I get tired I seem to get so weary I cannot rouse myself. Luckily, no lecture for ten days. I shall watch every pain, and will not and must not break down."

It was just at this time that he was so unfortunate as to enter upon the contest for election as vice-president of the Philosophical Society,—unquestionably one of the mistakes of his life. The contest was very bitter, and came at a most unhappy moment for the success of many of the large enterprises which he had on hand. These were in a critical stage, particularly the appropriation bill pending in the Legislature and the ordinance for the land-grant to the Museums. His candidacy for the second office in the Philosophical Society alienated some of his friends and did not strengthen his position in the city. No comment on this disastrous struggle—disastrous for his health, although he won the office—can be stronger than his own. "To-morrow at this time," he writes, "it will be over, and the immediate

[1] MS., December 30, 1895.

effects of one of the worst blunders I have made in a life full of blunders will pass into their second chapter."[1] But his election he viewed, after all, as a personal triumph. This vice-presidency was the only office for which he ever made what in politics is called "a fight."

The new year, 1896, found him busier and physically weaker than ever. Day and night were given to long conferences with Senators, Councilmen, men and women of wealth and influence in private station, and all for the purpose of advancing the cause of the Free Library, Museums, public education, the University, the sanitary condition of the city, and the National University at Washington. Every letter in which he speaks of himself, written at this time, contains some expression of weariness, some confession of overwork. "I am so behindhand," he writes, "I have absolutely no peace in life for a single instant." The number of committee meetings, Faculty meetings, trustee meetings, and interviews which he planned and carried through at this time is appalling. One of his plans was to secure Bartram's Garden either for the Department of Archæology or for the Commercial Museums. He was anxious, with Dr. Wilson, to start a botanical garden somewhat after the character of the Garden of Plants in Paris, and Bartram's Garden would make a beginning. He failed to obtain Bartram's through what he records as the treachery of one upon whom he had relied. The loss he did not, however, consider irretrievable, for a better public garden could be developed on the site of the land which he was securing for the Museums.

He was not always successful in his appeals. "Are there not days when it all seems too hard?" he asks. "This is

[1] MS., January 2, 1896.

one with me. I have just spent an hour and a half pleading for money as a man pleads for his life, and not a penny have I got. I am unable to get through my medical work, and now I am tired, nervous, and cross, and must begin a long evening's work which must be done." Then came a collapse. "I have no idea what happened," he writes; "I may have taken cold or I may have been poisoned. I am in bed comfortable, but coughing much more. No possible good in a consultation. I know more, in my little finger—like Paracelsus (about my own case)!—than the whole Faculty in their united wisdom." Although thus prostrated, he adds, "I expect to be at the committee meeting to-morrow at half-past twelve."[1] This collapse marked a turning-point. Up to this time he had been cheerful and had regained much of his old-time hopefulness; he seemed to have taken a new grip on life.

Never had he been more powerful or more important in the community, or, putting it in a better way, never before had the community so fully recognized his greatness and importance. His earnestness was surpassing. Just at this time came the Philosophical Society campaign, which broke him up again, and he did not have sufficient vitality to pull himself together. From this time his physical condition occupied more and more of his thoughts. The most serious sign of the radical change was his nervousness, which became frequently intolerable; a most serious sign of physical decay in him, for no man ever had more self-control than he in his normal condition.

"Not so fine as I fancied," he wrote a few days later. "I started out, but was too weak, and came back and slept from

[1] MS., January 14 (?), 1896.

eight last evening until half-past seven this morning, and I shall try it again to-night. But I must go down at four to the annual meeting of the Free Library." He had cheering news this day, that the Department of State at Washington would extend its support to the Commercial Museums by directing the American consuls to make special reports to it of the condition of trade in the different parts of the world. Another encouragement was the attitude of several of the wealthiest citizens of Philadelphia towards the Free Museum of Science and Art,—notably Mr. P. A. B. Widener and Mr. William L. Elkins. There seemed a prospect now that they would erect halls bearing the names of their donors.

In spite of nature's warnings, he continued his activities.

"I was late in rising," he records. "All the world was here and I have struggled to clear the deck. I shall go to New York. It will be a busy day, but I am strong enough. I have learned at last the lesson I should have learned a year ago. I am overworked and can do nothing well, and, worse than that, have not one moment or one grain of energy for true living, friendship, science, etc. I must consider very carefully what to resign, for I am resolved to cut loose from some of my positions, not hastily, but deliberately and at good moments. This breakdown has been coming steadily closer and closer all the fall. I have managed to hold on, and am getting better, but the game is too risky."

This was written at the close of January, 1896,[1] and recorded what with him was a matter not of the will but of compulsion.

Arrears of work now began accumulating, "mountains of them," as he expressed it. The Museum work advanced so finely that the committee was consulting architects, engineers,

[1] January 29.

and landscape gardeners. Every detail passed through his hands. His decision to resign from the many presidencies which he held was made too late, but he acted upon it and got some relief. He began to realize that the time was short; that he must concentrate his energies upon the largest enterprises in hand. To an observer there was no change whatever in his outward life, save that he was more frequently ill in bed. His office was crowded with patients; consultations multiplied upon him; messenger boys were running to and fro from his office as usual, and the ebb and flow of secretaries, members of the Faculty, trustees, and politicians kept on quite in the old way.

But he was changed; the work was beginning to pall upon him, and the exactions of the day were becoming brutal. His capacity to influence men was transcendent and, as events proved, complete. He understood exactly what to do. The whole thing, after all, was a matter of courage and physical endurance. Day after day he was now recording "nearer dead than alive; worn out, arrears of work hopeless. I was so anxious about Councils I could not sleep, and was off early this morning and spent an hour with [* * *] before he left bed;[1] and all this to influence the master politicians."

Signs of encouragement caused him to recuperate quickly, but discouragement, however trifling, wrought disastrous effects upon his nervous system. One day he records himself in splendid health, but the next is "a beastly hard day with little result and intolerable weariness." His moves for the advancement of the National University were repeatedly checkmated by the painful hostility of some of the old universities along the Atlantic seaboard. Behind all this

[1] MS., February 28, 1896.

opposition was their secret jealousy and fear that a national university would injure them. He fully realized the state of affairs, but bravely and persistently kept on.

As time passed he gradually dropped his efforts with men of little influence, and concentrated himself upon the leaders, who he found were, after all, the masters of the situation. "I suppose I did too much," he writes. "A bad night; twelve hours of restless, feverish waste of time." He now often had to send away his stenographer, a sure sign of collapse. The last day of April he mentions as "one of the strongest days" of his life. "I gathered up the Faculty into one hand last evening and swung it as a stick." But in the morning he records: "I had another such an awful night; it takes life out of one." From this time he rarely got more than three or four hours' sleep out of the twenty-four.

With the coming of the early March days he and those near to him began to face the possibility of his death. During the preceding winter he had several attacks of angina pectoris; and, although he kept this a secret, after the last of these, which was in February, he was convinced that the end was not far distant. He began to confide his wishes for the future to his closest associates, and gave them instructions in preparation for the worst. He promised to shape things so that the burden should not be too heavy for them to carry. He knew now that he should never live to see the fulfilment of his great plans. He made no change, however, in his outward life; went to consultations at untimely hours without a pause; attended to his medical practice, which was ever increasing, and bravely kept in touch with the vast army of men and women with whom he was carrying on the great work. Excepting his habitual attention to his medical practice, he did no more scientific work, and yet to

do such work had been the dream of his life. He was in a state of chronic weariness; yet he continued to give whole nights to the dictation of letters, telegrams, and reports, and attend the endless round of conferences and committee meetings much as usual.

Not a week passed that he did not acquire, by gift or purchase, some new collection of treasures for the Museum of Science and Art. Its collections were now loudly demanding an adequate treasure-house, and he took deep joy in the consciousness that this was provided for. A gleam of success affected him like a tonic, but a shadow of discouragement pulled him down. The innumerable meetings over which he presided were a drag upon him, but he felt that he could not let them pass into other hands; the time for this had not yet come. He alone must co-ordinate the educational work at hand. His inability to sleep remained unchanged. "I had a little sleep last night," he writes towards the last of May, "but I am astonished at my own strength. I am living an impossible life. The high purpose to which all these efforts are pledged must be the sustaining force. I am seeking so many favors from so many different people in so many different directions, which is all very complicated, I feel like a juggler with many plates spinning, and all must be touched at the right spot."

A glimpse at his professional activity at this time is afforded by one little line in a letter written the last of May: "The devil has broken loose with me in medicine, my house is packed with people, and I have six consultations out of town in different directions between this and to-morrow morning."[1] On this May day he records that his work had

[1] MS., May 30 (?), 1896.

been so pressing that he had not been in bed for three nights. Another collapse followed, and recovery was a hard fight. "I could not go to Maryland," he writes on the twelfth of June, "the pain was too great to venture it." But he also records that the results of work were coming in, and written pledges of support in the Legislature and Councils for the Museums. This to him was recompense for ceaseless toil.

In July he started with his family on a long journey through the Northwest. He got away barely in time, for on reaching Minneapolis, July 25, he wrote to a colleague that he had had worrying symptoms since he started, due to the hurry and drive of the preceding month. His health was from this time ever more the subject of his thought. He noticed that he could scarcely write or use his hands or feet in a regular way; a condition which he attributed to the effect of the long and rapid journey which he had taken when in an exhausted state. He was sure that it would pass off soon; but it did not.

All through the journey in Southern Dakota he was drowsy and suffered great pain. When he reached Agassiz, in British Columbia, on the thirtieth of July, he thought himself all right again, but he confessed that he had a "queer scare." "It was only rheumatism of the nerves," he notes, "but it affected my tongue, right arm, and right leg. I have been very good and careful,"—carefulness which his surroundings for the moment compelled him to observe.

When he reached Vancouver, on the thirty-first, he confessed that it was the first day he had had the energy to think or move, but he had been feeling acutely.

"Is it not strange," he inquires, "how force within as well as without assumes different forms so readily and so swiftly? I have

been battling all the week with a serious threatening. I felt that, of course, I should come out all right. I shall never know whether it has been good or bad for me to be flying through space now in this fashion. I felt better yesterday for the first time, and this morning, at half-past three, I awakened with a jerk, and was hard at it upon fifty things: Museum matters, Museum finances, patients, jotting down what must be done; and I have been in the little dining-room of the car, where I sleep, since four o'clock, writing by a big window, which looks on the Pacific, and with such a cold, foggy sun struggling to get through. I feel as if I could not stay away from Philadelphia a single day."

He was fretting to know whether there had been a special meeting of Councils, whether any important communications had come from any people, and what progress all his enterprises were making: for the weak state of his health had compelled him to leave them all, for a time. His greatest desire was to learn what bids for the new Museum building had come in. It seemed as if nothing could satisfy him until the permanent structure was rising in the air. This once started, he felt that all would be secure. When he reached San Francisco, on the fifth of August, he thought himself better and stronger, but confessed that he was far from being in fine condition. He cancelled all the trips he had planned, and determined to keep quiet and go on regular training and regimen; but he adds:

"I have masses of writing, fifty or sixty letters yesterday and to-day, and lectures and addresses, so I shall be busy enough. It is the old story: I awaken at five or 5.30, and must get up and be at it. You cannot throw off rooted habits so quickly."

On the third of August, when "thirty miles from San Francisco," he notes the excessive heat:

"The last days are hard ones. The heat trying, and travelling rather exciting and fatiguing. Mrs. Pepper is tired and suffering, but it is over, and she will rest quietly for six weeks in this dry, bracing air. I hope for the best. I am almost well, and able to write more freely; I can walk much better. It was near being a bad business: rheumatism settling on a number of exhausted nerves.

"It has taught me a good deal. So far as I can judge, the time is not favorable for pushing ahead with any big work. I read that New York and Brooklyn have made a practical failure of their new issue of three and a half per cent. municipal bonds. I hope Warwick will go very cautiously. Even if he could get a majority of Councils, it seems risky to advertise a loan."

Better for him had he taken complete rest, for the sixth in San Francisco he records that he had not been able to sign his name for five days. His tongue had been so affected that there were many words he could not pronounce.

"I could not raise my right toe over a pipe-stem on the floor," he said, "but had to drag it along. I felt that it was not paralysis, but a severe attack of inflammation on separate nerves, because I could trace them out by the exquisite tenderness along their lines. It has proved so, and to-day I am vastly better. I have kept indoors, kept warm, and eaten most carefully."

His sons accompanied him on his trip, and on the sixth of August went off to the Yosemite by themselves for a ten days' jaunt. He confessed on the eighth that the enforced quiet was good for him and that he had slept nine hours the night before for the first time in months. A feeling of quiet came over him. Rest brought back his hopes and faith. He saw that all his large enterprises were going on well. The past year was now sufficiently in the perspective for him to realize how tremendous had been

its strain upon him, and he wondered how he had gotten through it.[1]

He was keenly alive to his surroundings, and notes in one town, of not quite three thousand souls, in which he passed a few hours, "that there were quite a number of thirty, forty, and fifty million dollar fortunes;" and he thought of what he could do. He found time to do missionary work which he thought would be helpful at Washington and abroad even if it did not bring money directly to the enterprises in which he was engaged.

On the tenth of August he reached Pleasanton, the home of Mrs. Hearst. The Hacienda he described as an embodiment of one of the plans which had been made for the Museum building; a long, low house, high walls and red tiles, the enclosure planted with flowers. Rest and quiet were making him uneasy, and he was again, as he thought, "ready for work." So long as he could read and study and write innumerable letters, time passed tolerably; but inactivity made him fret. Mrs. Pepper was much better, and Mrs. Hearst was most kind, thoughtful, and attentive. Fate planned that he should come again to this spot. Thence he was to start on that last journey,—the way of all the earth.

He found the Hacienda "a heavenly place." He wrote of the stars "gleaming from the unspeakably deep blue of the heavens;" of "the marvellous play of light and shadows;" of the hills "standing in grand outlines against the sky." Here he lived very quietly and devoted himself to Mrs. Pepper. He ate fruit, "as," he said, "one eats bread at home;" and he rejoiced in spotless linen, which, he added,

[1] MS., August 8, 1896.

"would keep stiff and pure for six months instead of six fractions of a second, as at home." Above all, he slept soundly and felt so much refreshed and strengthened that he was obliged to confess that, though it had been a great effort for him to come, he had done right. So exhausted was he when he left Philadelphia he did not know "what to fear" as to his condition.

The alarming symptoms of paralysis had passed off, entirely confirming his own diagnosis,—that of rheumatism of exhausted nerves. But he was indulging in a respite rather than a rest. He had brought with him "two bushels" of old correspondence which he was struggling to answer,—the arrears of work of which he had been so long complaining. On the Pacific coast he met several men and women of great wealth who were interested in archæology, and whom he tried to bring into helpful relations with the Museums. In this he was somewhat successful, especially in the Department of American Archæology. In this missionary work he was greatly aided by the friendship of President Diaz of Mexico, who sent him letters of introduction to powerful friends in California.

As he regained his strength, he resumed his habitual attention to details and wrote many letters concerning the erection of the Museum building now in progress. Not a detail escaped him. Hostility to the execution of his great plans had continued to sharpen during his absence, and he sought in every way in his power to disarm it. In spite of long experience with certain classes of men in Philadelphia, he found it hard to believe that his opponents would be foolish enough to meddle with his plans when such splendid results as they embodied were imminent. But they continued to oppose in spite of the grand prospect.

Though he was in one of the loveliest spots on the globe, amidst most beautiful trees and flowers and near the Pacific Ocean, under a California sky, all wonderfully fine, he became restless, and fell to sleeping badly and to worrying about matters at home.

Old habits were tyrannical, and he could not take enjoyment and rest like other people. Even the large, free life of the Hacienda seemed to him an imprisonment; his thoughts were in the East. He was planning the winter's campaign.

"I am scared," he writes, August 30, "when I think what I have undertaken for this winter. The old theme of lectures; no power yet to cut down my practice, for money must be earned, lots of it, and it is useless to expect to make any in this country, with everything so upset and uncertain, except by the hardest kind of work. I have an important address in Mexico [the Pan-American]; [the work at the] Philosophical Society; a campaign of social entertaining; an address before the Historical Society; an address to be given at the opening of the Agnew wing [at the Hospital]; the Free Museum of Science and Art; the Commercial Museum; the Free Library; and the Leas offering splendid terms for a work on Practice. I have been making too many bricks with very little straw, and have been supplementing with the fibres of poor nerves."

And on the following day:

"It is all very well to prate of contentment and pleasure; I am debauched by affairs, and know no peace except in the midst of full activity."

This was his life in a sentence.

He was a keen observer of the times and was true to the political faith within him. The Presidential campaign of 1896 worried him. "If only Bryan is snowed under and

confidence is restored," he notes September 4, "so that business will start and big work will be again possible."[1] He resolves to do all he can to regain strength; confesses that he cannot sleep much, "the only drawback," and hopes to sleep more the coming winter; a wise decision, for, as he acknowledges, he had not averaged five hours' sleep a day through the preceding year.

He tried to interest Li Hung Chang in the Museums and to secure through him a grand Chinese exhibit; but the visit of the distinguished Oriental brought the Museum nothing. Dr. Pepper's activity among the Pacific coast people on behalf of the Museums was only moderately successful. He interviewed everybody who had the least interest in archæology, and secured endless promises and a few fine collections, notably Japanese, Russian, and Alaskan, "but the people promise so much, and how little the results."

Towards the close of October he had another attack of *angina pectoris*, after which he writes that he did not sleep well and was barely fit to begin a hard week. He was now forced to acknowledge what inroads on his vitality the last fifteen years of ceaseless work had made. "I did it deliberately, and am not sorry, but I must pay the price." At this time he was preparing for his Mexican trip to attend the Medical Congress, which his failing health ought to have ruled out, but he felt that he could not escape it "save at a loss of prestige and neglect of duty." It proved a great triumph and ovation,[2] but it cost him months of life. The address for the Mexican Congress he mostly prepared while in California and on the way home.

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[1] MS., September 4, 1896.

[2] See pp. 123–125.

VI

THE CLOSING YEARS

1896–1898

DURING January and February, 1897, he passed through another season of change for the worse, and entered upon a period of physical depression, and from this time to the end joyousness was more and more rare with him. Life worried, yes, irritated him, and the lively faith which for so many years had sustained him diminished. Not hope, but reverses and discouragement, lashed him into activity. As a friend expressed it, "Life was conquering him who had always victoriously fought it." "The days go by," he wrote, with unconscious pathos; "I march as hard as I can, but seem only to mark time; indeed, I scarcely hold my own. I see no near prospect of any change; I cannot go through my work during the day."[1] At the dinner to Mr. Brunetière there were speeches in French, and among them one by Dr. Pepper. It fell below his standard, and it annoyed him, not because he was vain, but because he loved to do the real thing and do it in the best manner. He fixed the blame for misfortunes of this kind upon "the miserable makeshift which had stood him instead of an education."[2] His standards of life were high; he possessed the scholar's soul and knew all too well what a wretched preparation for life

[1] MS. [2] MS. letter.

the elementary school and the University had given him. His realization of the cheat that had been put upon him was through life a potent factor in his labors for education. He wished the younger generation to have a better chance than had come to him.

The Loan Bill was now on the carpet, and it exhausted him: it was his evil genius. Scarcely a letter written or a memorandum made by him from this time to the end fails to speak of this bill and his labors to carry it through. To secure its passage he undid himself, sparing nothing. "I am having a terrible time," he writes, "with work and worry and loss of rest. The next four years can scarcely be as hard as the last four. McKinley has all the odds in his favor." And Dr. Pepper interpreted the odds as in his favor also.

In April he went to Washington,[1] and persuaded the President to come, accompanied by his Cabinet, to the opening of the Commercial Museums, in June. This was a fine stroke and contributed to the great success of the Commercial Congress with which the Museums were inaugurated.[2] The President's participation in this event was a recognition of the great importance of the Museums, the final organization of which was so largely the work of Dr. Pepper. During the night following the completion of the arrangements for the President's visit Dr. Pepper broke down. "I had the worst spell of pain," he notes, "that I have ever had, as I walked home from the Manufacturers' Club; I shall give up my lecture to-day." He was greatly pleased at the result of his Washington trip and the consent of the President and the Cabinet to be present on the nota-

[1] MS., April 18, 1897.

[2] See pp. 417–422.

ble occasion of the opening. The whole thing was arranged privately with the President before the politicians got wind of it. It was truly Dr. Pepper's affair. He records his satisfaction in a note written May 6, but adds:

"I am running into the worst forty-eight hours—a solid block of consultations till midnight, with a lecture thrown in; to-morrow the Diplomatic Board [of Ministers] from twelve to three; the question of a site for the Free Library at half-past four; dinner to Geikie at six; Philosophical Society meeting from eight till ? I have had nine hours' sleep in seventy-two, but without tea or coffee I get on well."[1]

On the eighth he paid the price for this,—an attack on his way home and terrible pain. "I shall come out all right," he notes, "if I live through it." He indulged in another brief intermission from work. If in anything, the days now differed from the past in having a greater number of committee meetings, conferences, interviews, and more rushing about.

The prospect of securing the appropriation at Harrisburg was now encouraging, but he thought the whole affair "most difficult and delicate." He knew that he was playing for big stakes; but having resolved to win, he hazarded all. He had coolly determined to sacrifice even his life for the success of his great civic enterprises.

His powers of persuasion wrought the usual result when, about this time, he appeared before the Finance Committee of Councils to urge them to appropriate fifteen thousand dollars to entertain the foreign delegates to the Commercial Congress. The money was voted unanimously. This was

[1] MS.

on Monday. On Thursday he writes: "I collapsed at eight this evening; have slept like a dormouse on the sofa in my office, and am so tired I must go to bed." The world knew only of his phenomenal activity; nothing of his physical collapses. The tragedy was behind the scenes. All these days a multitude of sick and impotent people crowded in upon him and literally packed his office. His consulting practice was more than an ordinary man could attend to; in addition was the active direction of the public work he was doing. The wonder was that he could stand the strain.

The arrangement for the Commercial Congress and the entertainment of the delegates was most elaborate. It included not only the conduct of the mere business of the occasion, but the entertainment of the State Legislature, of the Foreign Ministers, of the President and his Cabinet, and of the ladies of the Cabinet and the Diplomatic Corps who were to accompany President McKinley. Dr. Pepper drafted Philadelphia society in honor of the occasion, and it responded. The social side was gracefully attended to, a function which he was peculiarly enabled to carry on because of his social position. His friends refused him nothing on this occasion. The affair turned out a grand success, but he paid a terrible price for it. Writing from Bay Head, on the seventeenth of July, he says: "I came here last night. It has been a bad time for me, but I feel better and sleep. I have turned a corner. Since Wednesday the pain has been almost constant and severe. I have devised a diet and treatment which seems wonderfully useful." And three days later: "It is the first day in two months without acute suffering. For three days I was helpless, then I made an important discovery, and now can cure such cases."

It was at this time that he arranged for a two weeks'

fishing trip to Canada. "Then back to beg, if I am fit." His sons and Senator Edmunds were to go with him. This trip proved disastrous; it worried more than it refreshed him, a result which he anticipated, and he did everything he could to beg off from going. Writing, August 7, from Notre Dame Dulacque, he says:

"It is too rough, and there is too much exertion and exposure for a man of my condition; still, I have gone through better than I expected. What to do for the next six weeks I have no idea, unless I gain strength so as to be able to raise money. I feel quite ready now to resign my chair at the University, or the Presidency of the Free Library, or both, and several minor things, and get myself more free and independent."

The appropriation bill for the University had passed the Legislature, but the Governor had cut down the items, a matter with which the Museum item of fifty thousand dollars had nothing to do. The amount which the Museum secured was, as he put it, "a mere starter." The response to his appeal from all over the State had been instantaneous and vigorous. "I have never felt so much relieved," he notes, "from any one legislative action as from this. What a position the movement would have occupied before the world if repudiated by the State!"[1]

He returned to Bay Head, and on the eleventh of August attempted to resume his work, but made a lamentable failure. The Canadian trip had undone him. He had stayed too long in town, and he felt that he could not live till the appropriation had been secured. He found that he could not sleep at Bay Head, and was conscious that something must

[1] MS.

be done for his relief at once. He returned to town, sick and suffering, but stronger than he had been for three weeks. "I am treating myself with the greatest strictness," he writes, "and beginning to feel a little encouragement as to being able to get through the coming winter,"—a gloomy prospect in his condition of exhaustion. Throughout the long Museum campaign he had been giving hours and hours to the aid and direction of excavations in Babylon, Italy, and Egypt. He now felt the necessity of concentrating all his work, among other things that relating to excavations, and he favored Egypt. He rallied a little, or, as he put it, "turned a corner," and resumed his activity. The return to his Spruce Street home rejoiced him. "How good it is to be here again," he writes on the thirteenth of August; "I slept last night from quarter-past eleven till half-past five this morning, and did not turn. For three weeks I have been pursued with insomnia. I did all I could to get out of that Canadian trip; it nearly did me up. I feel I shall be able to work here several days each week; it is necessary."[1]

Three days later he returned to Bay Head, feeling much better and determined to make a systematic effort to cure his heart and be in fine shape by Christmas, but, he writes, "it requires immense self-restraint." A little later, after a long enumeration of details and obligations which must be fixed in the interest of the various large enterprises in hand, he writes: "If only I can live till January 1, 1899, I can cut loose from a half-dozen clogs which make all my work superficial and poor, and make me dull and useless." This was his calm survey of the road before him and of his chances of pulling through. He even set the term which

[1] MS., August 13, 1897.

he might reach if all went well. He realized his condition: he was facing death. Life is a tragedy with us all, but it is seldom that the staging is so impressive and the details of the scenery painted so vividly.

With full knowledge that his life might end at any moment, a knowledge which he shared only with one or two helpful friends, he concerned himself intensely with the details of all work in which he had been so long engaged,—the lighting and heating of the new Museum building, the minutiæ of literary arrangements, the particular form of correspondence which should be pursued with representatives of foreign countries in the interest of the Commercial Museums. It was a strange setting. The worst of all was his terrible depression; his spirits could not rebound from discouragement, as of yore. "The work is appalling," he notes in September; "the odds are against us,—I speak of the Loan Bill. There is so much at stake." And he told again the old story of this one and that one whose opposition was especially hard to bear.

The response which the City Councils gave to the Free Library movement gave him great joy.[1] It was a compensation for much that had been expended in care and labor, but his demands were insatiable: boulevard, pure water, a better public educational system, well-paved streets, and the Museums. Life was too short for it all. "I have been struggling to start, but am not fit to be out of my bed," he writes, September 23; "every day I increase my cold. To-night I ache and cough hard. Of course it is the bad weather and the excessive exposure and work all day; but it is a wretched business, and just when I need twice my greatest

[1] See pp. 369–384.

strength." But even at this altitude of discouragement there was compensation. Mr. Widener told him this day in strict confidence that he was going to live in the country, and would at once fit up his house on North Broad Street as a library and give it to the Free Library in memory of Mrs. Widener, as the Josephine Widener Branch.[1]

In the olden time he had never known what it was to be worried; now by sundown he was tired out. He kept his habit of rising early, even at four o'clock, to begin his work, clearing away, with the aid of stenographers, the mass of accumulated correspondence; then the day opened with consultations, committees, patients, and public business. He felt it almost too good to be true that the Museums had at last secured a fine tract of land, and spoke frequently of the grandeur of the full plan if it could be carried out. On the twenty-fifth of October he records having been through one of the hardest weeks, and speaks of the next week as a harder one. "I awaken regularly at four o'clock," he writes; "throw a shawl over my shoulders and go to work at the Loan Bill campaign till seven, when I rise." His hope for the bill was not because of the support which the rich and mighty gave it, but the support of those whom he called "the little folks." He knew that the public desired it; this was his hope. Had he been able himself to manage the campaign for the bill, the issue might have been earlier and better, but there were many managers, and the things ran rather a grotesque course. Finally, it having been decided that the question of passing the bill should first be referred to a popular vote, on the fourth of November the vote was taken, resulting in a heavy majority in favor of the measure.

[1] See p. 380.

To the unsophisticated this seemed all-sufficient, but the politically wise knew that it meant only the beginning of a struggle, a grand rush for the city treasury from all quarters. The politicians and their backers would now, at their convenience, settle on the division of the spoils. From this time his efforts for the bill were practically wasted. It would have been well for him had he dropped the whole matter and left Councils in the hands of the public; but he did not see it in this light. His real malady was the disease of work. Now and then he came to himself with a little confession such as that of November twenty-fifth: "Too little sleep; five hours is not enough." But the confession ended the matter; he went on working.

On the thirtieth of November he expresses his joy that the month has passed; the very memory of the work done worries him. Early in December he is at the Waldorf in New York urging upon a number of wealthy men and women from various parts of the country the foundation of a National University. He trusted much to the influence of the women of the country; more, indeed, than to that of the men. Now he was in Washington, now in New York again in consultation over the matter,—chagrined most of the time at the impotency of the people with whom he had to deal and despairing because of the jealousies of the older Eastern universities. There were powerful influences against him; too powerful, indeed, to be overcome. His efforts on behalf of this enterprise form a tragical chapter in the history of the movement which Washington began. Had Dr. Pepper lived, there is little doubt that he would have pursued the undertaking to a more successful end than it ever has attained.

One of the saddest indications of the change which sick-

ness had wrought in his disposition was his depression, and, at times, irritability, and his suspicion of the loyalty of some of his friends, a state of mind altogether foreign to him in health. The few who had influence over him found it difficult to restrain him from overexertion. They feared the fatal moment, but he misinterpreted their motives. They were wiser than he. And so the year 1897 closed in upon him busy with many things, overreaching his strength, planning an impossible activity, and the hours of possible work shortening week after week. It was the fourth act of the tragedy.

The year 1898 opened gloomily for him, supersensitive as he was to every change in the weather and no longer able to guard against disease. On the fourth of January he broke down again, and was a week in bed, having, as he said, "a regular demon of a time with grippe." He struggled up and attempted to go about a little, and planned a call on the German ambassador at Washington, but was forced to abandon it. "Collapse and relapse, here I am at home a week again and as weak as a rag." But adds, "I shall be all right in a few days as far as this acute attack is concerned."[1] For five days he was unable to sit up and was forced to take some rest.

On the sixteenth he was still in bed; the grippe had settled on his chest and was straining his heart. "I can sleep, eat, and every one is kind. I sent for every one and they came most obligingly;" and among those for whom he sent were the Mayor and leading members of Councils. "I keep up the pressure in all directions; politics have been bitter." The opposition, he believed, must lose "at the obstructive game

[1] MS., January 10, 1898.

they are playing so openly, and the revulsion against Quay gains force daily all over the city. The Loan Bill comes up in Councils on Thursday. I believe it will pass; then for the items. I shall be able to do full work by that time, if there is no chronic trouble of the chest. For this I should go to Arizona; then I should explore with Moorehead."[1] And he made a note of important board meetings which he must attend, one to be held at his own house. "I hope to go down-stairs for it," he adds; but he did not rally. Two days later he was hoping to be out by the end of the week. "It has been a hard attack, a long pull, and it came at an unfortunate time. I have kept in touch with every one."

It was at this time that the Philadelphia City Solicitor gave an opinion against the legality of the water scheme, the projectors of which, as Dr. Pepper said, were "plotting the plunder of the city." "It may delay the Loan Bill. Typhoid fever is raging, however; it is truly an epidemic. Public feeling is beginning to run high. If there is no factious opposition in Councils, I shall begin a bitter campaign." Work on the Museum building had stopped "as the bricks frosted." "I am not sorry," he writes, "for next fall begins to seem very close at hand, and there is a lot of study to be done over details of equipment."[2] On the nineteenth he was out of bed a few hours, and on the twentieth went down-stairs to weigh himself. He had lost, but he records not a loss of weight but of time. He consoled himself with the thought that he had kept in touch with all the work.

"It is impossible," he notes, "to imagine a more corrupt and ugly state of things than exists. Typhoid fever is raging, but this does not prevent the scheme for a big water job

[1] MS., January 16, 1898.

[2] MS., January 18, 1898.

by tying up all legislation in Councils. It seems wicked to say it, but I believe that five times as many deaths would each save scores of deaths in the long run." He had not been able to go to Washington, but had sent a long letter to the German ambassador, and was hopeful that that official would respond,—as in fact he did. "I shall be about on Monday," he adds, "and shall get at work at once at the newspapers in regard to the Loan Bill, and start an active campaign to raise money to keep the Museum going."[1]

On the twenty-ninth he writes:

"I do not gain strength; it seems impossible to sleep off this wretched disease. I force myself to go to bed early and to stay many hours in bed, but I have to read to pass the time. Mrs. Pepper caught the grippe from me, and has been ill for ten days. She is better now, and I shall send her to Florida. I do not want to go myself, and shall not do so unless it is obligatory. The vote in Common Council on the Loan Bill was so evidently influenced by corrupt forces that it is arousing wide-spread, popular remonstrance. On top of this comes a special meeting of Councils to jam through Judge Green's infernal water scheme. This is going to arouse still further irritation. They have bought the votes, and I have no doubt they will put it through. But of course Warwick will veto it, and then they must have a three-fifths vote in each Chamber to pass it over his veto. By that time we will have popular indignation worked up to such a point that it is going to be very difficult, if not impossible, for them to secure the votes. The newspapers are all in line. All is going quietly in other directions. The Museum goes on as usual."[2]

He abounded in good resolutions.

'I returned to bed and stayed until twenty-three minutes past one. Now I spend twelve hours out of every twenty-four in bed.

[1] MS., January 20, 1898. [2] MS.

I begin my lectures to-morrow. I am gaining in weight; have gone to one hundred and fifty-seven and a half, and intend to go to one hundred and sixty-seven. I intend to go to bed at half-past nine for the rest of my life. I awaken at half-past two or three, read two hours, then sleep till eight. The town is red-hot about the Loan Bill and the water scheme, and it looks as if we might win. The epidemic of typhoid is a blessing. I hope it may continue a month longer. It is useless to prophesy, however. It makes one ashamed of the city he lives in. It is all due at bottom to the callous, cold-blooded domination of the billionaires. I continue to improve, but am very careful; go to bed every night at the most absurd early hours. Mrs. Pepper will start with Sarah Leonard [1] for Palm Beach next week and remain until April. If I do not get entirely well, I shall run down for a short time. I hope to escape the necessity, however." [2]

Five days later, after two weeks of steadily advancing convalescence, when he had gained weight and felt much better, he was suddenly "bowled off his legs," as he put it, and had a relapse fully as severe as the first attack. The grippe affected his chest more severely than on any occasion since the attack which he suffered when in Antwerp some years before.

"As soon as I can be moved from my bed to the car," he writes, "I shall go to Florida. All arrangements are made for Friday of this week. We have not been beaten yet at any point. The Loan Bill was retarded and put back on the calendar. The Schuylkill Valley scheme was not brought up. I think it is altogether the dread of the elections which so many of the Councilmen have to

[1] His niece, the daughter of Mrs. James Biddle Leonard, Dr. Pepper's sister.

[2] MS., February 2, 1898.

stand this month; as soon as that ordeal is over the fight will be on again. I shall be back in thoroughly good shape in time for it.

"There is something radically wrong or I should not have had this last attack. I must have prolonged rest and radical change of climate as soon as possible, so as to eradicate the poison from the system. One has quite enough enemies outside to fight without having internal struggles with myriads of bugs of every kind. There is no danger, however; it is simply annoying and tiresome. I do not think one single thing has been imperilled by my sickness. The raising of money has been the only thing that has suffered, and, fortunately, I shall be able to make that up." [1]

On the twelfth, at midnight, he left for Florida.

"I have been very ill, and wonder at my strength at throwing it off so well, but I have got another struggle ahead to get back full vigor. I was doing so well, was stronger, had gained flesh, and all seemed safe. A second blizzard did the business. Of course a relapse is always so much worse. The struggle has been too long, too ceaseless, and too complex, and rest had to be taken. Imagine the uncertain distress of spirit I have gone through. The world can never be the same thing to me again. Careful study of the situation and firm resolves are needed, but I have fought away all depression; have refused to be demoralized or discouraged. Yes, life is the same everywhere. We give ugly names to what men and women do, but they are the regular uniform expression of life, varied under different circumstances. *Cui bono?* We must do it, is the only answer. We are no better off if we do not than if we do. Here I am, thousands of miles away, crippled in health for the time, and yet not one moment's rest do I find from plans of larger work, as though the only thing in life was this restless struggle; and so it is, if made as we are." [2]

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[1] MS., February 7, 1898.

[2] MS.

The relapse proved by far the worst he had suffered. He said that he lost absolutely taste, smell, hearing, and the power of sleep. At Palm Beach he spent two weeks. "Thanks for your kind note. I shall be back early in March," he wrote, "I trust in fine condition: we will try to set the clock back a bit so as to catch up." He went to St. Augustine, and later to Jekyl Island, where for a few days he was benefited by the cooler and more bracing climate. His weakness was so extreme that for a week he was unable to write; but on the twenty-fifth of February he had regained his power of sleep.

"As I used to have it and as I must and shall have it again. I shall be stronger than for three years. There is a hard fight ahead, —underhand work and treacherous work in plenty. The water scheme may win; they have twenty-three votes in Select Chamber (just enough to pass it over the Mayor's veto); but the public is growing angry, and it may scare some of them off. It remains to be seen what can be done in Common Council. Warwick, seeing the Loan Bill could not pass just now, was foolish enough to persuade Seeds to introduce a resolution to give $375,000 for water, and let the other items go for the present. Of course it was at once loaded down with amendments,—$800,000 for a high school, $1,000,000 for small streets, $300,000 for sewers,—and then it was killed. I was fearfully anxious lest it be passed in this form, for of course there would have been no chance for the Museum and Library items at any future time, these more popular ones having been secured. I have lain awake night after night, and telegraphed vigorously. Now the fight, through March, is to pass or to kill the water scheme. No one could do anything to secure the Loan Bill at this session. Then there has been the 'Maine' episode, a semi-panic, and prices all to pieces. Well, our work goes on. I shall be back in fine condition by the first of March. Our kind friends have it in the paper that I am a hopeless wreck, but they will learn soon; still

I shall be very cold-blooded and cautious. I must study selfishness thoroughly. I have barely lived through the crisis." [1]

He returned home better than he hoped to be, but far from well. On the seventeenth of March he notes that he was beginning to sleep, and so hoped that his strength would come back by degrees. He resumed the struggle for the Loan Bill, with all its exacting demands and terrible inroads upon his vitality.

"For myself," he writes, "I feel a little better, but I am no better. Of course no one in the world knows the truth. I shall never mention it; but it is very serious, and is the outcome of frightful exhaustion and depressed vitality all these recent years. I am doing my best, and shall make no hasty decision; I shall wait and strive until next autumn. Of course it is all right, and I deserve it, but it is none the less depressing. Organic disease fastens its roots in us insidiously, and then all the glory and fun in life go." [2]

Though depressed about the Loan Bill, he "hatched a new notion every five minutes and believed some of them would work well."

At this time came the surprising but grateful news from Washington that the prospect of an appropriation by Congress to the Commercial Museums was favorable. This toned him up, and as usual tempted him to overdo; but he makes a note that he got nothing done. "I take the utmost care," he writes, "but neither advance nor recede."

He re-entered the campaign for the Loan Bill with all his old-time skill and tact. It reminds one of the campaign for the Hospital which he had directed a quarter of a century

[1] MS., February 27, 1898. [2] March 2 (?), 1898.

before. He made a political map of the city, drawing up in detail the strength of the opposition in every ward: first, certain powerful individuals in private and political life were to give their orders to their people; secondly, certain newspapers were to pursue a particular course and publish a particular kind of information. The First and the Fifteenth wards were, as he put it, "all wrong." In other wards there were leaders who must be seen again and set to work. Twenty-one votes were sure in Select Council for the measure, but four more were necessary, which must be obtained from five doubtful members; and so the struggle went on. The conclusion of the matter let him describe: "The meeting at the City Hall was most tame. H. made a long speech in favor of the impossible Schuylkill navigation water scheme. Then the ordinance for the Loan Bill came up, and, to my amazement, so fully had the committee been dealt with it in advance that it passed almost unanimously after a ten-minutes talk from F., no one else speaking."[1] And he adds, "I am very weary; could not sleep; arose at four. We have made another good stroke. Very many have been here to congratulate."

The passage of the Loan Bill renewed his hopes and crowned another of his grand successes. For a few weeks he felt vigorous again, but it was the effect of the overstimulation of good news. It was good as long as it lasted. On the fourteenth of April he notes: "I am better; I slept last night better than I have done for two years;" and he was marking out a new campaign to gain funds for the Museum. He was in Washington on the twelfth, stirring up interest and support for the Commercial Museums, every minute

[1] MS.

of his time under pressure. The usual effect followed. "Hopeless," he writes, "I gave up my lecture in hope of throwing off this wretched cold, but it has grown worse all day and I am going to bed." The beginning of July came, and Councils had done nothing with the details of the Loan Bill,—that is, had made no arrangement for the actual securing of the money which it empowered them to raise. Among the items were large appropriations for the Museums, for the Free Library, and for filtration.

The object of the campaign now was to get Councils to act, and to effect this Dr. Pepper unwisely remained in town. The weather became unusually warm for the season and aggravated his malady. In May Dr. Osler records that he saw him the last time, "I think in bed, improving rapidly and very cheerful; talking much of his plans, particularly for the Commercial Museums and for the Library. He spoke of a proposed visit to the Pacific coast, and of the good it was sure to do him."[1] His friends were urging him to leave town and seek rest in a quiet place; but he delayed, hoping that Councils might act. The heat became oppressive and he was visibly weakening under it. His anxieties unnerved him. "If it costs me my life," he said, earnestly, on June 16, "I will see this through. Now, don't tease me about it; arguing makes me nervous and lessens my strength. I must go on till the end." After all, he was right, for the efforts of his friends to drive him against his will only exhausted him; but they did not now hesitate to tell him plainly what delay and anxiety meant.

To his intimates in the great enterprises on hand he ex-

[1] Address before the Johns Hopkins Medical School, October, 1898.

plained the details of his plans and what he hoped they would carry out. He made light of his physical condition, and especially of his inability to walk about. The symptoms were becoming grave, his condition was pitiful, yet he had the nerve to joke about them. He even tried to deceive most of his friends as to his health; but no one was deceived. Day by day he diagnosed himself thoroughly and took his weight. Meanwhile Councils delayed and he was dying. Day after day he put off his departure for the Pacific coast. There were fresh delays in Councils and he postponed the day of his departure. Finally, Councils acted about the close of June, and he was free to go; but he was in no condition to use his freedom.

His agony of body during the weary days was intensified by agony of mind over the condition of his beloved sister, Mrs. James B. Leonard, whose health for some time had been failing. They were very dear to each other, and resembled one another in temperament, in manner, and in mental powers. Most unfortunate was it that at this time his physical condition deprived her of his professional services. He was keenly alive to this affliction, but there was no remedy. Paroxysms of pain surged over him; frequently he was motionless in agony. "This means death," he said again and again to Mr. Leonard. He knew that there was only one hope for him—absolute rest. Yet when the pain had passed or eased a little, his hopefulness and vivacity would return.

On the sixth of July he sent a note to Dr. Wilson, announcing that he would leave for California on the following day, but would be back in September, "restored to health." The last three weeks in Philadelphia drained his vitality, already so nearly exhausted. The intense heat added to the

danger. His nerve force alone kept him going, and that was almost gone. On the twelfth of July he telegraphed to Mrs. Stevenson, whom he left in charge of some of his interests: "I arrived at San Francisco yesterday; endured the voyage; hope to improve; cannot bear removal to the Hacienda; make only favorable statements."[1] Two days later Mrs. Hearst wrote to the same friend: "Dr. Pepper begs me to say that he has passed his exhaustion on his arrival at San Francisco. He has certainly gained slightly, but a long complete rest seems to me imperative. We hope to take him to the Hacienda Saturday. I fear his exertions for many interests have been pushed too far."

On the seventeenth he wrote through Mrs. Hearst from the Hacienda: "The cut about the Loan Bill worries me; I cannot believe serious trouble can be raised. We have done our best, and if the people wish to start up trouble I do not intend to worry any more about it. It is very restful here and most beautiful. I am still confined to bed, and it is clear my improvement will be slow. Among them they have managed to rob me of my vitality; they will have to be satisfied until I build up again."[2] Telegrams came, bulletins of his health, or inquiries concerning the Loan Bill. On the twenty-sixth he dictated his last note, which was read after his death: "I have not been strong enough to write. I will hastily touch upon a few points only. I am very glad for the good news about the Loan Bill. I believe there will be a broader and finer development in Philadelphia in the next five years than ever has been in an American city. I am certainly gaining daily. It is one of the finest airs and places I know of in the whole country. The air is a strong one."[3]

[1] MS. [2] MS. [3] MS.

The story of the closing days has been told by his attending physician.[1]

"Accompanied by Dr. Taylor and his valet, Benoit, Dr. Pepper left Philadelphia for the West on July 7, 1898. Since the middle of June he had become markedly weaker, his breathing was labored, his energy reduced, and his usually limitless initiative ambition seemed strangely depressed. He felt that the damp, sultry climate of the Atlantic slope was unfavorable to him, and was convinced that he ought to leave it as soon as possible. Late in June he consulted, in regard to his health, Dr. J. C. Da Costa, between whom and Dr. Pepper a strong bond of personal affection and mutual respect existed. Dr. Da Costa gave him and his condition the most careful attention, confirmed in every particular Dr. Pepper's own opinions of his case, as well as the previous diagnosis of Dr. Stengel and Dr. Taylor, and sanctioned the western trip, feeling, as we all felt, that only at such a great distance from the centre of his labors could he secure that complete rest which his condition so urgently demanded. His professional affairs were placed in the hands of his son, for whose professional future he was so solicitous. His civic and administrative matters were remanded to the care of associates, and without further delay his departure was accomplished upon July 7.

"At the outset of the journey, as the result of an earnest discussion with Dr. Taylor, Dr. Pepper entered into an agreement regarding correspondence and business details destined to entirely relieve him of all cares. He agreed to write no letters, send no telegrams, read none but immediate personal letters, and in addition to allow even the smallest details of his personal care to devolve upon his valet. This arrangement was not entered into because he lacked the strength to do these things, but in order to secure the most complete rest. It was realized that the causes of

[1] Dr. Alonzo E. Taylor.

this arrangement might be misinterpreted, as indeed they were. The arrival to members of his family of letters written by Dr. Taylor raised the inference that he was too weak and ill to write, which was at no time the case. Nevertheless, he felt that he ought to continue the arrangement as affording the best opportunity for rest.

"The journey to the West was accomplished without especial incident. As far as Chicago, and during the nine-hour 'stop-over' in that city, the heat was excessive and oppressed him greatly. Beyond the great Mississippi the weather was cool and pleasant throughout, with the exception of the few hours spent passing across the Sacramento valley. During the hours of travel his active mind, turned from the duties of his career, sought relief in fiction, and devoured, one after another, all the volumes available on the train, in addition to a large supply procured in Chicago. At evening he would tie his candlestick to the clasps of the window curtain, and read far into the night. During the first two nights trouble was experienced in procuring food for him. These difficulties were obviated by the purchase in Omaha of such untensils as were needed, and these and Benoit's nightly efforts in the preparation of his lunches were the subject of his continual jesting. His spirits were of the most buoyant nature; never a doubt or a serious distraction seemed to cross his mind. His appreciation of the beautiful scenery through which he passed was as vivid and keen as could be imagined, and his solicitude for the crops and the prosperity of the people of those sections was beautiful to witness. We reached San Francisco on the evening of July 11, and were met at the Oakland Mole by carriages with Mrs. Hearst, Miss Lane, Miss Apperson, and the solicitous and faithful Robert. We were conveyed to apartments in the Palace Hotel, where a hot and tempting repast, prepared by Robert, awaited him.

"We remained in San Francisco until July 16. During those days the city was filled with troops, the papers were filled with war news, and Dr. Pepper was upon the top of the wave all the

time. The fact that Franklin was in the service of his country seemed only to increase his great natural interest in the vital affairs of the nation. Insomnia troubled him during these days, and again his resource was to fiction, of which a large collection from Doxie's was placed at his disposal. The trunks were delayed, and this necessitated the purchase of necessary clothing, during the selection of which he remarked that not all the wool was in the garments, since some of it was being pulled over our eyes! Here, too, his spirits were of the best, and his playful jesting with the 'girls,' as he affectionately termed Mrs. Hearst's young friends, was a daily routine. All his food was prepared according to his every desire, by the versatile Robert; his rooms were filled with beautiful flowers, and the most perfect care for his comfort and welfare was displayed by Mrs. Hearst, her friends, her servants, and by his faithful Benoit. A number of his old professional friends were in the city, among them Clifford Allbutt, of London, but he declined to see any of them.

"On Saturday afternoon, July 16, the entire party, including Mrs. Hearst, Miss Lane, Miss Apperson, and Mr. de Reyter, went in a private car to Hacienda del Poze de Verona. The day was most perfect, and the short trip seemed to refresh him greatly. He purchased cherries from the urchins who clamored to sell them at the successive stations along the road, supplied the entire party with cherries, ate them himself, and popped the seeds about with the light-heartedness of a boy. Miss Lane told his fortune with cards, and in this happy manner the trip was accomplished.

"On the arrival at Hacienda del Poze de Verona the party was leisurely driven through the gorgeous gardens to the house. With characteristically accurate memory Dr. Pepper had preserved an exact picture of the gardens and orchards as they appeared at the time of his previous visit two years ago. Since that time they had been very much changed, and each improvement and new beauty was noted and commented upon by him.

"Upon our entrance into the house, Dr. Pepper was most com-

fortably ensconced in the large guests' room at the western end of the long hall, Benoit being placed in the room directly adjoining it. Mr. de Ruyter immediately set out with the gamekeeper to procure young birds for Dr. Pepper's dinner. He had borne the trip very well and was very cheerful and hopeful of speedy improvement, and such was indeed the truth. From this time until the day of his death his symptoms were gradually ameliorated. His breathing became less frequent and much less labored, his color became better, he slept soundly and long, and the signs of heart weakness became less pronounced. He then believed that he would recover, and turned his attention to the selection of a resort for the winter. Many regions were discussed, but his thoughts continually reverted to Hawaii, and he finally decided that in October he would summon Mrs. Pepper, and pass the early part of the coming winter in that balmy island.

"The reading of fiction and conversation were his two occupations. The works of Kipling and Stevenson were devoured *en bloc*. When he became weary of reading, willing hands and voices sought the privilege of reading to him. Mrs. Hearst did the large part of the reading to him; he was, however, very fond also of the reading of Miss Lane, whose mood, voice, and manner soothed him remarkably. Each morning he eagerly awaited the daily letter from Mrs. Pepper, and was deeply relieved to learn that she remained well.

"Four days after his arrival he was transferred to Mrs. Hearst's rooms, which were preferred on account of their location, and in these he remained until his death.

"In accordance with the almost Spartan simplicity of his habits he now became rigorously plain in his diet, and finally settled upon malted milk as the best diet for his condition. Of this he consumed a great many bottles, 'enough to fatten an elephant' he once said. He lived upon it until the end. His own perceptions of his condition were as keen and his observations as clear-cut as they were in his consideration of the ailments of his own patients.

Each day the events of the previous day were discussed with Dr. Taylor, the records were reviewed, and the plans for the day then calmly decided upon. It was beautiful to see how objective he was able to make his own condition appear before his own judgment, and in this again lay further evidence of his remarkable mental powers.

"His thoughts and words often turned towards his children. He seemed so glad that Franklin was in the service of his country. For the professional progress of Will he had many plans: work in the laboratory, in the wards of the University Hospital, in dispensaries, in his own office, and among his own patients. That during his absence Will should have full charge of his office was a constant joy to him.

"Naturally the University and the other institutions occupied his thoughts a great deal, and were frequently discussed. His deep faith in natural progress and his sanguine temperament lent to his discussion upon these subjects a roseate hue.

"The climatic conditions were most favorable during the sojourn at Hacienda. While the days were warm, the humidity was very low, and the nights were cool; each evening an open fire was built in the fireplace, and it was often his pleasure to postpone the lighting of the room that he might enjoy the open fire. During the latter days of his life he sat most of the time upon a spacious couch and at night he slept upon it also, preferring it to the bed at whose footboard it stood. The rooms daily received consignments of cut flowers. Most peculiarly, however, the odor of roses became distasteful to him and he could not tolerate their presence. He received from his hostess the most perfect care and attention, and could these have maintained life he would be alive to-day.

"Upon the twenty-eighth of July he felt as well as upon the preceding days. He spent the morning in reading, and took his glass of malted milk every three hours. During the morning a telegram came announcing that Battery A had been ordered to Porto Rico. He telegraphed his congratulations and seemed deeply

pleased that Franklin was to see active service for his country. He also dictated a very hopeful letter to Dr. Da Costa.

"Mrs. Hearst, and later Dr. Taylor, read to him during the afternoon, from Stevenson's 'Treasure Island.' At six o'clock he took his supper as usual, and afterwards, discussing his condition with Dr. Taylor, expressed the opinion that circumstances were so favorable that he thought the doses of his medicine ought to be reduced, a procedure which was agreed upon should begin to-morrow. At half-past seven dinner was announced, and Dr. Taylor retired to the dining-room, which was just beneath the room occupied by Dr. Pepper. At eight o'clock he complained of pain in his chest, and Benoit sent at once for Dr. Taylor, who came immediately and found him upon the verge of an attack of angina pectoris, into which he rapidly passed. All efforts towards stopping the attack and restoring cardiac action were unavailing and in a few moments he was dead. This attack of angina pectoris was the first one he had suffered since four months: his first attack was some three years ago. It was his repeatedly expressed conviction, and also the opinion of his associates, that angina pectoris would end his life, but none expected it so soon. Seneca termed it 'the disease of noble men.' The organic conditions underlying the disease were produced by long-continued mental overwork. Verily he gave his life for others, for the public good."

To Dr. Osler Dr. Taylor wrote later:

"He died at eight in the evening with a copy of 'Treasure Island' in his hands. At seven I had left him gazing upon Mount Diabolo, shadowed in the gathering darkness. I was called at eight and found him in the attitude and with the expression of *angor animi*, from which he never roused. He had suffered a few months before with cardiac dilatation; at the time of his death he was recovering the lost compensation, and appeared on the clear road to recovery. He had said, a few days before, 'the battle has been won.' Throughout his illness he exhibited the most perfect disposition and the

greatest patience and forbearance. . . . The fatal attack was, I think, about the seventh, extending over a period of three years; the last previous attack was in April, at the time he was lecturing upon angina pectoris. He knew that the end must come some day, but he did not expect it so soon. I have never seen so beautiful a nature in sickness; his conduct and disposition were worthy of Marcus Aurelius."

With such a book as "Treasure Island" in his hand, we can imagine that the great Enchanter of the Pacific had filled his mind with the possibilities of peace and quiet,—so long denied him,—possibilities turned instantly to realities with the summons to the peace and quiet of an eternal rest. Some of Stevenson's lines express both the spirit in which William Pepper utilized his time in the service of his fellowmen and the chief lesson of his life to us who survive:

> "Contend, my soul, for moments and for hours;
> Each is with service pregnant, each reclaimed
> Is as a kingdom conquered, where to reign."

The remains were placed in a private car and the journey home was begun on July 30. As in his last weeks of life friends had surrounded him with every care and comfort, so in death they surrounded his remains with floral beauties. The car was most appropriately and beautifully decorated. The long journey to the East was accomplished without incident, and Philadelphia was reached upon the noon of the fifth day. Throughout the journey many physicians who had learned their art from him visited the car and viewed the remains. The announcement in the city papers, on the twenty-ninth of July, that Dr. Pepper was dead surprised and shocked the community.

Private services were held at his late residence on the morning of the sixth of August, followed by public services

at St. James's Protestant Episcopal Church. The honorary pall-bearers were William Platt Pepper; General Isaac J. Wistar; Edward H. Clark, of New York; William J. Latta; ex-Governor Daniel H. Hastings; Mayor Charles F. Warwick; Dr. S. Weir Mitchell, representing the Trustees of the University of Pennsylvania; Frederick Fraley, representing the American Philosophical Society; Joseph G. Rosengarten, representing the Philadelphia Free Library; ex-United States Senator George F. Edmunds, representing the Philadelphia Museums; P. A. B. Widener, representing the Philadelphia Exposition Association; Hampton L. Carson, representing the general Alumni Association of the University; and Daniel Baugh, representing the Free Museum of Science and Art. The rector of the church, Rev. Joseph N. Blanchard, D. D., officiated. During the services the hymn was sung which was sung at the funeral of Dr. Pepper's father:

"O Paradise! O Paradise!
Who doth not crave for rest?
Who would not seek the happy land
Where they that loved are blest?
Where loyal hearts and true
Stand ever in the light,
All rapture through and through,
In God's most holy sight."

It was a sultry August day, and the city was hushed in summer stillness; yet the church was crowded, and all looked conscious of the city's irreparable loss. The funeral services were unostentatious, like the man over whose form they were rendered. Towards evening his ashes were deposited at Laurel Hill, where he had played as a child, for Fairy Hill has become Laurel Hill. Here, amidst his kindred, he rests.

VII

IN MEMORIAM

COMMENTS on his character and work appeared in above four hundred newspapers and magazines representing every part of the country; but, with one or two exceptions, these comments told the world very little that was new or unknown about him. It was the common opinion that he had killed himself by overwork, but that he had accomplished more than most men ever dreamed of doing. His reputation as a physician and medical writer and his great services to the University were commented on with commendable discernment by the newspapers published in his native State and in adjoining States. The record was of the deeds and departure of a remarkable man.

It was the judgment of the world, and undoubtedly a true judgment, that he over-estimated the importance of the office of Provost of the University of Pennsylvania. He had made the office notable and desirable. He found it obscure and avoided by many educators. There was little in the office in 1881 to attract the attention of any man of established reputation. In 1894, after the transforming labors of Dr. Pepper, the office was an object of great desire in certain quarters, because he gave it standing and fame and made it the centre of education and, to a certain extent, of social distinction in Philadelphia. There was no doubt that the world estimated him quite as accurately as he did himself. It saw first in him the physician whose "uncanny insight," as he described it, into the ailments of mankind gave him

analytical powers rarely equalled; secondly, it thought of him as a man of affairs, interested in large enterprises of public interest,—the sanitary condition of the city, the beautifying of its streets and parks, the purity of its water supply, and the general economic administration of its affairs.

Included in these public affairs were his efforts, all highly successful, for the establishment of a system of commercial, art, and scientific museums, free to the public and devoted to the illustration and advancement of great human interests. Herein lay the power of the man,—that he recognized the value of education and knew how to provide it for the public in a most effective way. He was literally a disciple of Pope, and believed that the proper study of mankind is man. His discipleship took a utilitarian turn, and was based, in the true sense, on the favorite doctrines of Dr. Franklin. It was not uncommon in Dr. Pepper's lifetime to hear him and Franklin compared, and the comparison was occasioned not merely by the connection of Dr. Pepper to Franklin through marriage, but to the obvious continuity of method and results visible in the workings of the two men.[1]

Not presuming to say how Dr. Pepper found Philadelphia, it is just to his fame to observe that he left it with ideas. His long struggle which inspired the two now celebrated addresses on the medical profession and its relation to the public, was only an introduction to a series of struggles for reform in other directions. No effort, however laborious, alarmed him. He loved the smoke of battle. All he asked was a fair field and a fair fight; he knew that his unflagging

[1] An admirable allusion to Pepper and Franklin was made by James M. Beck in his oration on the occasion of the unveiling of Franklin's statue at Ninth and Chestnut Streets.

energy, his prodigious push, and his self-sacrificing labor, all directed by his genius for overcoming obstacles, adjusting difficulties, and utilizing men, would give him the victory. Others might hesitate, he pushed forward; others might doubt, his faith was serene. Thus it happened oftentimes that he stood almost alone in the struggle.

Those who associated with him intimately will recall more than one occasion when a meeting in the interest of some undertaking had been called and only a few responded by their presence; he would take the chair, proceed with the business agreed upon, and, though only a handful were present, would conduct the business with the gravity that might be displayed, as the unthinking might imagine, before a vast company, divide and subdivide the work, and adjourn the meeting with every detail of the program provided for. In this he well illustrated that principle in equity, that a thing is done which ought to be done.

As a parliamentarian he was notable for ignoring petty rules of procedure, and it was said that "Dr. Pepper's manual was better than Cushing's or Jefferson's, at least for Pepper's purposes;" but none took offence at his jumping over rules. The great work moved on. No one was offended—it was Dr. Pepper. He often fretted under restraint, but of this his outer calm gave no hint. His reputation for achieving success under any circumstances gave him standing among men of every calling, and his short, direct method rather pleased than displeased. His capacity for comparing and weighing facts and conditions was of a high order. It lay at the foundation of his success as a diagnostician; once in the possession of all the facts his conclusions were rarely incorrect. The percentage of error in them was so small as to pass for nothing. Thus, business men, who all their lives

had been trained in the intricacies of finance or of great industrial enterprises, recognized his capacity for sound judgment, and freely consulted him or took his conclusions unhesitatingly. He was by nature a good business man and had that despised love of details which Napoleon said was the first condition of success in life.

Fully conscious of his power of arriving at accurate conclusions, his chief labor was to secure complete and accurate data in the matters before him, whence it was that he gave assiduous attention to whomsoever might have the requisite knowledge. Occasionally he was deliberately deceived, but the deceiver promptly suffered the penalty of never being believed by him again.

His love of work and ceaseless activity were a disease, incurable, but encouraged by more activity. He fed upon work, and yearned for it even when supposed to be resting. The centre of greatest activity was the centre of his affections, and the truest picture of the man is of one consumed by work. He was given to putting himself into perspective, subjecting himself, as it were, into viewing and noting his own activity. With him the greatest day, the happiest day, was the busiest day. Eating seemed like a waste of time; sleeping was a necessary evil. Action, action was life. Thus at intervals of years he made records of a typical day, which began soon after midnight of one day and closed late after midnight the next. Loving work himself with unappeasable affection, he loved those who loved work. The best introduction to him was a reputation for usefulness and activity. In persons of such habits he found congenial spirits. He welcomed them. His love for persons of activity was like Frederick the Great's fondness for tall soldiers. Whence it followed that his most intimate associates were young men,

and these he bound to him with hooks of steel. Some achieved distinction in the world and forgot him, or denied the constructive influence which he had at one time possessed over them; others who achieved fame carried him in their hearts, and to this day think of him with affection.

His unselfishness was the despair of his enemies; they never understood it. It was impossible, they said, that he could do all that he did merely for the public good. They declared that he got his pay in the greater activity and publicity which his so-called altruistic enterprises called forth. This interpretation was made particularly by men who had been associated with him for a time, had been advanced through his influence, and had attained some degree of independence in place and power. But the wise ones understood him. The financiers, the captains of industry, the men who knew men because they dealt with large things constantly, made a true measure of him. They gave freely in support of his enterprises, because they knew it was for the public welfare and that he asked nothing for himself. Secretly some of them regretted that a man of such genius should waste his life for the general welfare.

He had a genius for making money, and, had he so chosen, might have become one of the millionaires of the day; but, like Agassiz, he had no time to make money. In spite of himself, however, his fortune accumulated,—another instance of the frugality and prosperity for which the members of the Pepper family have long been noted. His income from his profession was very great,—perhaps the greatest received by any physician in Philadelphia in his time. During the last ten years of his life he raised his fees as consultant in cases involving much travel and fatigue; but such cases multiplied and continued to multiply far beyond his strength

to treat. The reason for raising his fees lay in the greater demand which his civic, educational, and scientific enterprises placed upon him. He was subscribing heavily all these years to guarantee funds in support of the University, the Museums, University Extension, and many forms of public charity, and he found it necessary to increase his income. He collected only to give away. His gratuitous practice was equal to the entire practice of many a well-established physician, and on no occasion was he known to refuse his aid merely because the patient was poor. To teachers he was particularly kind and generous. Hundreds of teachers from the public schools and from colleges and universities consulted him professionally, and he uniformly declined to receive from them what would be considered a full fee. The ruling principle of his life was one which few men ever think of: that "a man owes to his generation not merely something of his leisure, but the utmost services of his active years." The University of Pennsylvania as it stands to-day is his creation. The system of museums which ornament Philadelphia are his monument, and the higher educational tone of the community is one of the results of his life. Art, science, and education, each for its own sake, was the principle which inspired his efforts.

The characteristic which most deeply impressed those who knew Dr. Pepper intimately was his equanimity. Tyrians and Trojans were alike to him. He treated the whole world as his friend; he had no time to indulge in animosity,—the work in hand was too exacting, too important. He utilized men; locked arms with friend and foe and went on his way. He often praised, seldom blamed, and never spoke unkindly of a person in his absence. His capacity to ignore insult and injury was phenomenal. To those who had close asso-

ciation with him very many years he seemed at times callous to criticism or indifferent to insult, but he was wise.

He knew the community thoroughly, its limits, its resources. A man's likes or dislikes were respected, but his attitude towards him as an individual was not sufficient to interfere with any matter in hand. His supreme effort was to secure the support of men and women in the furtherance of great ideals. Had his material resources been inexhaustible, had he possessed fabulous wealth, his attitude towards men who persisted in being his enemies might have been different. But it is a little world, though greater than the world in which he moved, and he could not afford to lose the assistance of a man simply because that man was his enemy.

On one occasion a friend who was passing through deep waters came to him for counsel. After hearing the case, Dr. Pepper said, briefly, "There is only one thing to do,—play the rules of the game to the end; you can do no more, and you may do less. Make the other man responsible for whatever calamity may ensue; your conscience will be clear, your duty done. If you lose, you lose like a philosopher." The advice he gave he practised himself. Had he been given to recognizing petty annoyances, he would have fatigued himself with trifles and failed to accomplish his great work. Thus it came to be that he had a way indescribably attractive and masterful. Men surrendered to his coming; and the story of the Mexican vase might be told, with variations, of almost every day of his active life.

His manner was irresistible, and there is no doubt that he studied well the old motto, "Manners make the man." Certainly in manners he stood alone; and those who knew him intimately will testify to this isolation as the sign of the man.

His manner was infectious, and many a young medical student, who came up from the wilderness uncouth and bearish, passed through a process of civilization during the four years that he heard Dr. Pepper lecture. Even his enemies admitted his suavity and were jealous of the influence which his manner exerted. Yet for the benefit of those who never knew him it should be said that his manners were never effeminate or obtrusive in any way; behind them was the man, the large spirit, the perceiving soul, the powerful usefulness.

He was particularly happy in all his public addresses, and notably in the presidential address before the Pan-American Medical Congress at Washington. Dr. Tyson has remarked that the address won the hearts of the delegates from the Latin-American republics and prepared the way for the welcome which Dr. Pepper received when he attended the second meeting of the Congress in the City of Mexico. His fluency in French enabled him to live in a second world, and many of the Mexican and South American delegates who were unable to speak English were delighted to find in him one who could converse with them in a familiar tongue. The impression which he made at various times upon the Mexican and South American peoples was deep and lasting. He sympathized with the efforts which the scientific men in South America were making to improve the sanitary condition of its cities and towns. His ideals of reciprocity, education, art, and science were large, brilliant, and attractive, and awakened all the passionate admiration of these Latin peoples. The news of his death came to them, therefore, most painfully, and they mourned him.

Seldom, indeed, has a nation risen in honor of the dead as the high officials, the savants, and the people of Mexico

rose to do honor to the memory of Dr. Pepper. In the great legislative hall of the Capitol in Mexico the memorial services were held. The vast interior was illuminated by electric lights shaded with globes of green glass, and by a profusion of candles in the great central chandelier. The boxes and rows of seats in the hall were draped with amber and black; torches were burning in the balustrade. On the rostrum and all over the platform were growing plants, the fan palms and the graceful tropical foliage standing out strikingly against the amber drapery and silken folds of the American and Mexican flags. On the walls on either side of the raised platform the frescos were covered with panneaux of black cloth, against which were placed wreaths and palm branches. On the cenotaph was inscribed the name PEPPER, and tablets were placed on which were written in Spanish:

"The Executive Committee of the Second Pan-American Medical Congress, 1896."

"The Corps of Medical Professors of the Mexican Republic, 1898."

At seven o'clock, on the evening of the twelfth of September,[1] President Diaz appeared in the hall, and was received with military honors and the rendering of the National anthem. He was escorted to the central seat on the rostrum. On his right was the Minister of Justice and Education, Honorable Jauquin Barranda, and on his left the Governor of the Federal District, Honorable Rafael Reboller. A little lower and on the right was seated Dr. Rafael Livista, and on the President's left, Dr. Eduardo Liceaga. The orchestra then

[1] *Mexican Herald* of September 15, 1898.

rendered Svenden's "Andante Sostenuto," after which the Mexican Minister to the United States, Honorable Matias Romeo, delivered an oration in memory of Dr. Pepper.

He said of him that he "was one of those luminous bodies that visit our planet in human form to do good to their fellows, to serve as an example for present and for future generations, and to elevate and improve the condition of humanity." He spoke in praise of Dr. Pepper's establishment of the Commercial Museums in Philadelphia,—that system of educational and industrial opportunities which have met with so prompt and sympathetic response in the Latin-American countries.

Dr. Porfirio Parra, in behalf of the College of Medicine in Mexico, spoke with enthusiasm of Dr. Pepper's services as a medical man.

"For such an one," said he, "the tomb is the first rung to the ladder of glory; death is the beginning of life, and of a life that never ends. He was good, he was great, he was wise, and thus his name will not perish, but will be written in letters of light in the book of those who die not, but who live to posterity."

"Mexico," said Dr. Ramirez, "is a civilized country and a lover of progress, and recognizing that true genius has no country, but belongs to humanity, has hastened to do honor to the illustrious dead on account of the great things which he accomplished in life."

Dr. Mendizabal, who represented the National Academy of Mexico, concluded the addresses:

"We are all aware of the great merits of Dr. Pepper, and Mexican physicians are under an obligation to him. During our stay in the United States, at the time of the first Pan-American Medical Congress, we were the recipients of a thousand courtesies and a thousand marks of esteem at his hands; a delicate compli-

ment to our country, for which we were deeply indebted to him. This, then, is the reason for the present public expression of grief, this mark of reverence on the occasion of the death of the illustrious physician, whose country, like that of all other great men, embraces the whole world. His name is deserving of the highest esteem. It would be difficult to find a man of his knowledge, and, above all, one possessing his activity.

"In order to understand his worth, to see him was sufficient; to note his spacious forehead, serene but lined with premature furrows; the pale, transparent skin, so becoming a man devoting his whole time to study; the glance, calm and gentle but penetrating, as if he would read the soul of him who addressed him. He was a man of easy, simple, and eloquent speech; calm in his reflections and of great activity in his work. His name was a title of nobility, for he was the son of an eminent physician of Philadelphia also. He was not a vain man, but had the pride of one who knows what he is worth. At heart he was humble, and his humility explains how his great learning led him to sacrifice himself for the benefit of mankind. In temperament he was manly and energetic, without which qualities great virtues are impossible, and in the absence of which no man can fulfil a high calling on earth. He was possessed of the great quality which is indispensable to the acquirement of all true knowledge,—distrust of what knowledge he really had. He belonged to that privileged group of men of whom Pascal speaks, who, having learned all that man is capable of knowing, realize that they know nothing.

"He received as his recompense the noblest reward that science has to bestow,—namely, the pleasure of teaching those who do not know. He spoke with correctness and propriety the language of Shakespeare, which was his mother-tongue, as he spoke that of Horace, Molière, and Schiller. His great learning did not prevent his being communicative, sociable, and a most charming converser. His manner was affable, his actions and society delicate and refined. Those who had the pleasure of knowing this great man personally

will note that I have drawn no imaginary character, but one that is true and lifelike, a mere hint at what he was in reality."

On the twenty-ninth of November a memorial service was held in the chapel of the University of Pennsylvania, at which addresses in his honor were made by the representatives of the institutions with which he had been associated. The Governor of the Commonwealth paid a tribute to his labors for the advancement of scientific and educational institutions in the State. The eminent physician and author Dr. S. Weir Mitchell spoke on behalf of the University Trustees. Dr. James Tyson represented the Medical Faculty of the University and the College of Physicians; General Isaac J. Wistar, the founder of the Wistar Institute, spoke feelingly of the work of Dr. Pepper in connection with that institution, and particularly of his labors to advance the cause of biological science. Mr. Daniel Baugh told of Dr. Pepper's services in founding the Department of Archæology and its Museum of Science and Art. Hampton L. Carson, Esq., of the Law Faculty, spoke of the General Alumni Society of the University.

"He dreamed of a new Philadelphia," said Mr. Carson. "It was not the historic city which most he loved, it was the city of the future; and can he who has read his address on Franklin doubt that in his character there were many of the qualities which belong to the most practical and far-seeing of Americans? He dreamed of a city greater than any Penn had planned, with nobler charities and vaster public works than Franklin had fancied; a city richer in hospitals, in schools, in institutions of learning, in libraries, in art, in commerce, and in public works. Into the comprehensive schemes of foresighted men he entered with the ease of one accustomed to plans of magnitude. On the Mayor, on Councils, on private citizens, nay, on Presidents and their Cabinets, and Congress, he cast

a spell, converting that which was local into that which was national and might become international."

The American Philosophical Society was represented by its president, the venerable Frederick Fraley. The Director of the Philadelphia Commercial Museums, Dr. William P. Wilson, recited Dr. Pepper's relations with that great system of industrial and economic education. The Free Library was represented by its Librarian, Mr. John Thomson; and the Mayor of the city, Honorable Charles F. Warwick, paid a true and touching tribute to Dr. Pepper's long and arduous services to advance the health, beauty, and prosperity of his native city.[1]

Perhaps of greater significance was the tribute which was paid less formally. With the men of affairs in Philadelphia Dr. Pepper had long been intimate and influential.

"It is difficult," wrote Mr. William J. Latta, "for Dr. Pepper's contemporaries to place a proper estimate upon his usefulness. As later generations reap the benefit of the public movements of which he was the principal promoter, the value of his efforts will be more correctly estimated. One of his characteristics was the reaching out for work to be done and for men to do it. The keenness of his mind in discovering the practical needs of the people and the means of supplying them was only equalled by his wonderful capacity for getting about him the men who could accomplish the desired results. His very presence was stimulating; his activity was contagious. In laying out his plans he looked years ahead. No detail was too trifling, no responsibility too remote to be overlooked. Both in his plans for a Free Library system and for the establishment of the Philadelphia Museums he displayed not only genius in conception

[1] The addresses on this occasion were collected and published in pamphlet form.

but a business instinct of high order. The delicate tact with which he handled men and faced difficulties was little short of phenomenal. He had abundant faith and ability, and the two combined made an irresistible force which simply commanded success, and it came. His life was an inspiration." [1]

"He possessed three very prominent characteristics: [2] the power of adapting himself to every condition, personal magnetism, and courage. He was by nature a great business man, a master of details whatever the matter on hand might be. He was absolutely unselfish. He led in every subscription list which he presented to others; and no matter what might be the attitude towards the enterprise, he never had a disagreeable word about any man. It was practically impossible to resist his requests, whether for money or influence. Unlike most men of his quality, he had the courage to use all the means necessary to accomplish his ends. He never wasted time or for a moment forgot his identity. He was perfectly at home with all sorts and conditions of men and at once made himself felt, and took the lead in whatever company he found himself.

"All this was done with the assent and usually hearty acquiescence of his associates; no one felt ignored or disposed to antagonize. It was a wonderful combination of qualities which made him for so many years easily the foremost man in Philadelphia. He was a man among men, a natural leader, a wise counsellor, and he was successful in a far greater proportion of large undertakings than are most eminent men. There was no position in life which he could not have filled respectably, and most positions he would have filled with rare success."

Commenting on Dr. Pepper, ex-Senator George F. Edmunds, who knew him intimately, and who stood perhaps

[1] MS. letter, January 25, 1900.

[2] Author's conversation with Mr. Thomas Dolan, March 17, 1900.

closer to him as counsellor and guide in public questions than any other friend, went so far as to say that he had never known a man whose mind was of a higher order. His powers of analysis were marvellous, his logic swift and sure, his willingness and zeal to learn the facts in the case unlimited. All these powers lay back of his phenomenal success as a diagnostician; yet the workings of his mind were equally strong when directed to other than medical questions. He knew human nature and read men with unerring accuracy, and consequently his failures were few, his successes many.[1]

"He had a most affectionate disposition," writes a relative; "those whom he loved he loved deeply. With them he was as demonstrative as a boy. Even after a separation of a day or two he never failed to greet me literally with open arms—holding me close to his breast for a minute without speaking and kissing my forehead as a parent kisses a child. It was so with all his immediate family—and in his case the word 'immediate' seemed to have a larger signification than with most men. Not only towards his wife and mother and sister and children and me,—whom he always treated as a son,—but towards all his nephews and nieces, towards his brothers-in-law, Mr. Leonard and Mr. Wright, he showed the same exuberance of affection. Indeed, I never saw any one, man or woman, who could resist him if he really made up his mind to win one's affection or friendship. He seemed to know instinctively the key with which to unlock the heart of those with whom he came in contact. A man with such a gift is always suspected of deliberately using it to accomplish his own ends without himself experiencing any genuine emotion.

"He was apt to be charged with insincerity. Close observation convinced me that no such charge could with justice be preferred

[1] Author's conversation with Honorable George F. Edmunds, April 19, 1900.

against him. I do not mean to say that he did not accomplish great results by his courtesy to people whom he cared nothing about. I do not mean to say that he ever lost an opportunity to deal tactfully with persons whom he did not like. I do mean, however, that all his manifestations of friendship and affection were wholly genuine. His affections in such cases were really enkindled. The secret of his attractiveness was the simple fact that he himself felt deeply, and that for the affection which he craved he was always ready to give in exchange the devotion of which only such natures as his are capable." [1]

"It is pleasant to hope," remarked Dr. Horace Howard Furness, when a year later he presented to the American Philosophical Society, on behalf of the contributing members, the portrait of Dr. Pepper, "it is pleasant to hope that during his lifetime Dr. Pepper was at least faintly conscious that his influence for good was thus wide-spread, and that among his fellow-citizens he had become the representative of great educational and civic movements. . . . This is not an occasion for eulogy, nor have I any capacity for analyzing character (who can analyze his own?), but by one noteworthy element in Dr. Pepper's temperament I was always impressed, and this is a sense of proportion. He had the faculty of differentiating values. He was never astray among the important and the unimportant. His perspective was always true. At a glance he distinguished the permanent and the transitory. Therefore it is that the institutions with which he was connected or which he guided will for many a year to come follow out the lines which he in his clear-sighted wisdom laid down. . . .

"Ambition is proverbially selfish, and that he was ambitious we all know. But herein was almost his crowning quality. *His ambition was never for himself.* If he were exacting and determined in the pursuit of his ambition, it was not for his own ends. His ambition was set in the attainment of loftier planes for the institu-

[1] MS., May 10, 1900.

tions and for the community for which he toiled and planned. Rarely shall we find the man more thoroughly, utterly unselfish than he. To the reflex effect upon himself or his fortunes of any course which he deemed of moment, I think he gave never a single thought. That a man of as forceful a character should meet with opposition and even detraction is inevitable. But we have solemn words of warning ringing in our ears: 'Woe unto you when *all* men speak well of you!' Therein is to be found our consolation and his ever-present balm."[1]

During the winter of 1894 Dr. Pepper had made plans to close the scholastic year of the University by exercises of more than usual solemnity. Commencement Day should not only bring his administration to an end, but it should round out the formative period of the University. He felt that the idea which Benjamin Franklin had outlined for the University nearly a century and a half before, and to the principal application of which Dr. Pepper had devoted his life, had been fairly planted. The University now maintained close relations with the community in the midst of which it stood.

An era of development would follow this creative period, and, as a mark of things done and as an expression of a hope for the future, Dr. Pepper earnestly desired to com-

[1] At my request Dr. Furness sent me the manuscript of his eloquent address from which I have made the above quotation. It is gratifying to me to have the support of his judgment concerning the permanent influence of Dr. Pepper's wisdom in the institutions with which he was connected or which he guided. My manuscript of the life of Dr. Pepper was completed before the above address was delivered, and it is with regret that I find myself prevented from quoting the address in full. It is to be published, I understand, in the proceedings of the American Philosophical Society.

memorate the name and work of Franklin by erecting a statue to his memory, and unveiling it during this last Commencement Week. He had become greatly interested in the statue of Franklin which stood at the entrance of the Electrical Building at the Columbian Exposition. It was obtained for the University, and for a time Dr. Pepper had high hopes that it would be cast in bronze.[1] The Provost's preparations for Commencement week, 1894, suggested to some of his friends and co-workers the thought of a personal testimonial to him, to whose creative genius the University, and, indeed, the whole community, owed so much. The suggestion took form, as already narrated, under the management of a Testimonial Committee,[2] which arranged with Mr. Carl Bitter for a bronze statue of Dr. Pepper, with the understanding that it should be designed of a size and material suitable for a place on the University grounds. It was also stipulated that the bust study should be ready for presentation at the Commencement, on June 10, 1894. Dr. Horace Howard Furness was invited to deliver the presentation address. His masterly oration on that occasion is already familiar to the reader,[3] as are the circumstances under which it was delivered.

As in eloquent speech he recited the story of the transformation of the University in scope and character under the retiring Provost, during his administration of only thirteen years, it seemed almost incredible that one man could have accomplished so much. The difficulty in obtaining sittings from Dr. Pepper caused serious delay in the completion of the statue, and it was not until 1896 that it was finally ac-

[1] A bronze cast would have cost at least $20,000. But see, as to the fate of the statue, note, pp. 332–333.

[2] See p. 331, ante.

[3] See pp. 333–348.

cepted by the committee in charge, after it had been critically examined and approved. The opinion of the eminent artist Mr. John La Farge seemed of special value, as being that of not only an art expert, but of one connected with Dr. Pepper, and one, therefore, familiar with his moods and attitudes.[1] In 1896 the model was cast in bronze, and in the following winter, at the request of the artist, it was placed on exhibition at the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts in Philadelphia. Unfortunately, it was placed on too low a pedestal, and therefore appeared at a disadvantage.

Some time elapsed before the drawings for the bronze panels intended for either side of the granite pedestal, designed by Mr. Leigh Hunt, were perfectly satisfactory to himself and to those in charge. In the spring of 1896 the Trustees of the University granted to the committee the centre of the plot of ground reserved on the plans of the Free Museum of Science and Art as a site on which to erect the statue.[2] Mr. Bitter's drawings for the bronze side-panels were finally accepted in June, only a short time before Dr. Pepper's death. By that event the statue became a memorial to a devoted life ungrudgingly sacrificed in the promotion of the public welfare.

During the progress of the work on the pedestal the new building of the Free Museum of Science and Art of the University, the last effort of Dr. Pepper's life, was approaching completion, and it seemed highly appropriate to link the formal presentation of the statue with the official transfer of this imposing edifice to the Trustees, and thus make the occasion one great tribute to the late Provost. The fact that

[1] Mrs. Pepper and Mrs. La Farge were sisters.

[2] The southwest corner of Thirty-third and Spruce Streets.

STATUE OF WILLIAM PEPPER, UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA

the main hall of the structure about to be dedicated had been erected by him and bore his name added to the appropriateness of this thought. The suggestion was warmly received, and the Board of Managers of the Museum arranged a program of ceremonies for the opening of the building, and consulted with Mrs. Pepper in order to learn her wishes respecting details. She signified her intention of selecting this occasion to announce a gift to the University, as an endowment for the hall in the Free Museum of Science and Art, known as The William Pepper Hall. This added another lasting tribute to the memory of a great man and most fittingly attached it to the foundation, the future of which her distinguished husband by a formal expression dated only a short time before his death had sought to secure.

The twentieth of December, 1899, was the day fixed upon for the ceremonies. On that day the fully equipped building and its priceless collection should be officially transferred, the statue of Dr. Pepper should be unveiled and presented to the Trustees of the University, and the announcement of the endowment of The William Pepper Hall by Mrs. Pepper should be formally made. The day was propitious, and a large company of representative men and women assembled in the Widener Lecture Hall to witness the exercises. Absent friends sent wreaths and flowers to be laid at the foot of the statue, which could be seen from the windows of the Lecture Hall.

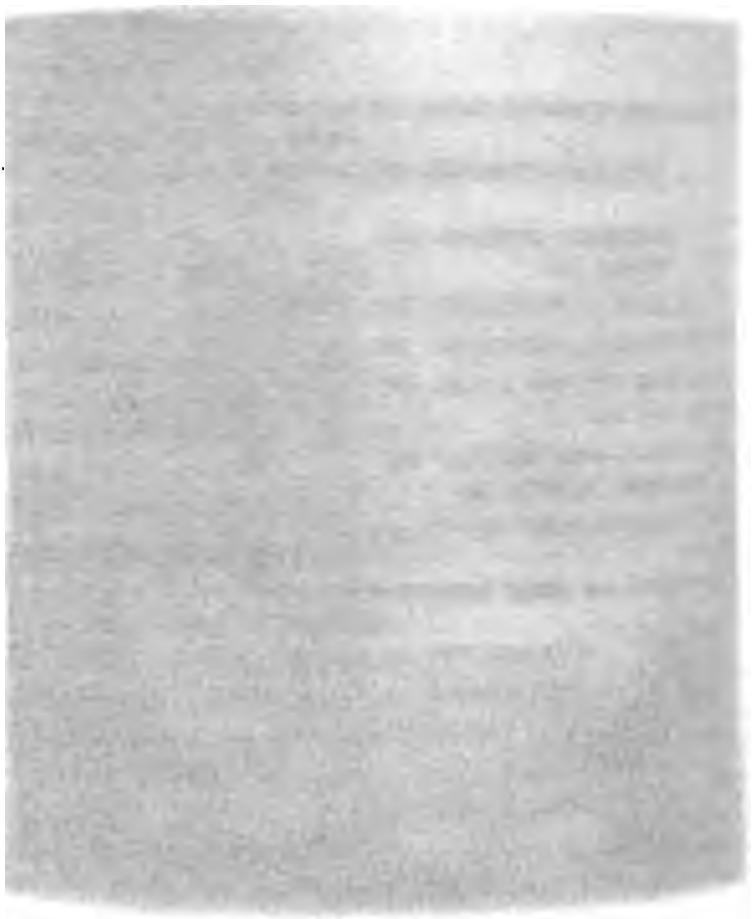
The ceremonies in Widener Hall opened with the address of the president, Mr. Daniel Baugh, who recited the history of the Free Museum of Science and Art and of Dr. Pepper's services in connection with it. Ex-Senator Edmunds then presented the statue to the University authorities, and con-

cluded with the announcement of Mrs. Pepper's gift of $50,000 to the Museum.

Success never disturbed Dr. Pepper, but he made elaborate preparations against defeat. Here he was truly Napoleonic. No detail was too wearisome, no person too obscure if necessary to success. To the men who knew he gave closest attention. Herein lay the secret of his success. His instinct made human nature clear to him, and his tact taught him to let every man play his part. No characteristic of this extraordinary man was more pronounced than his genius for treating enemies like friends. Seldom has a man been born into the world so free from jealousy, envy, hatred, or malice. So great was the universality of his genius that men were persuaded that he was strongest at whatever he undertook.

If it can be said that he had one ruling ideal in life, it was the ideal University,—not as that word is commonly understood, but in its broad and liberal meaning. In so far as in him lay he strove to establish in his native city a group of opportunities permanent and attractive: the system of museums, the schools, and the library which forever will be associated with his name. Looking minutely into the work which he did and the plans which he wrought out, one easily arrives at the opinion that he anticipated the improvements which for a century to come are likely to distinguish the institutions with which his name is associated.

The man thus honored lives in the memory of the world. His work remains. Future generations will appreciate more correctly than do we the value of his labors for mankind. To us who knew him has fallen the duty of handing down as best we can what we ourselves knew concerning him. No man ever received a larger devotion or a nobler tribute from lifelong associates, and no co-workers ever possessed



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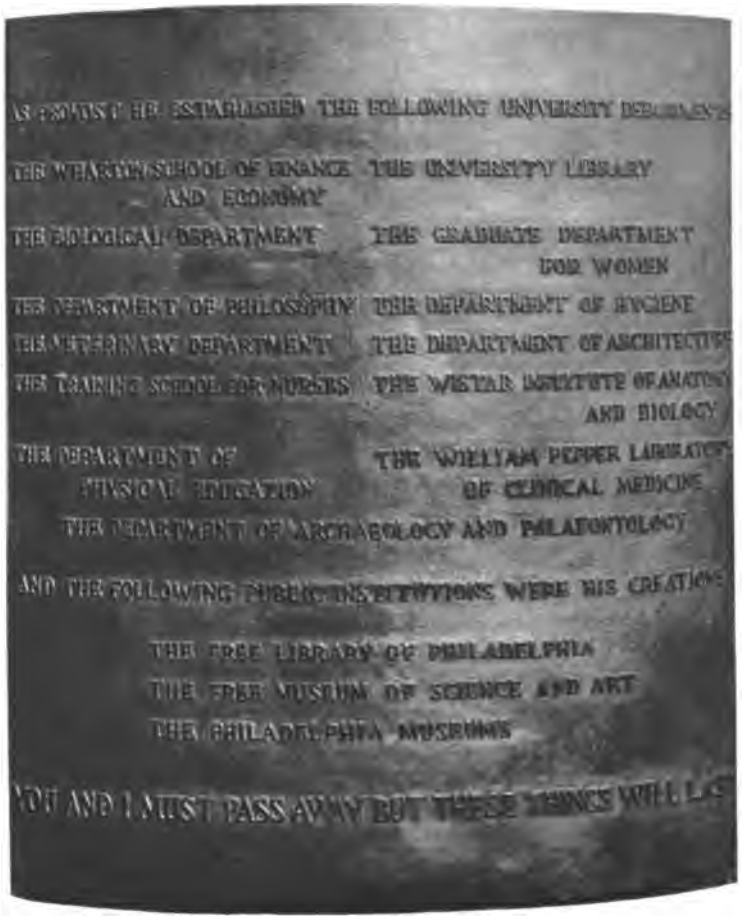
The [illegible] lives in the memory of the [illegible] His work [illegible] Future generations will appreciate correctly than do we the value of his [illegible] To us who knew him has fallen the duty of [illegible] as best we can what we [illegible] knew [illegible] ever received a larger devotion or a [illegible] associates, and no co-workers [illegible]



TABLET ON PEDESTAL OF THE PEPPER STATUE

a more faithful or loving friend. He was a masterful man, and he used men as a great soldier uses his army, but, like the great soldier, he asked no service or sacrifice which he himself would not give. His life was a campaign not in Altruria but in altruism. "These glimpses of the moon," as the greatest of poets describes our earth, held him for awhile amidst petty jealousies and scrambles for place and fortune, but amidst the contest and struggle he lived serene; the atmosphere of his world was an empire of ideas.

The tribute paid to his memory in the City of Mexico by the savants of the republic and the leaders of its government was such as is occasionally paid to princes of the blood or dignitaries of the church. It was perhaps a more impressive memorial than was held in his native city. Here the mourners went about the streets silently, for they knew that the foremost citizen was dead. For many years some will survive who knew him and who came sufficiently near him to understand his character. They will not forget his animating smile, his swift intellection, his sound judgment, his careful speech, and his devoted friendship. His friends erected a monument to him while he was yet living, but his works will outlast the bronze figure which now stands silent amid the creations of his mind.

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